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## EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

"Dr. Roscoe R. Hill has generously agreed to assume editorial responsibility for the May number of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. His association with the publication has been close and helpful since its foundation. For this additional indication of his interest the managing editor and all other members of the editorial boards are very grateful. Ed."

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN

1879-1942

AN APPRECIATION

Professor Percy Alvin Martin, who died at Laguna Beach, California, March 8, 1942, was one of this Nation's most distinguished scholars in Hispanic-American civilization. For three decades he enriched and enlightened historical thought about the Western Hemisphere, and contributed permanently to Inter-American friendship. Though his years were cut short, he had accomplished a full lifetime. His passing is a loss to the Republic of Letters, to Stanford University to the building of which he contributed so greatly, and to the men and women who knew him in his own country, in Europe, in Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico, Cuba, and the lands between.

Dr. Martin was a pioneer in a new field of scholarship, where languages had to be mastered and new approaches charted. In those adventures he became a statesman-scholar whose influence was quiet but strong and enduring. His reputation was first established in European history, after studies at Stanford, Harvard, Leipzig and Berlin. Then he caught the vision of the far-flung continent south of the United States, and he turned there to open new vistas of scholarship in the rich culture and history of Hispanic America. No ivory-tower investigator of civilization, he took leave from his chair at Stanford to travel often to the countries and

minge with the peoples whose history he sought to know. He established friendships with scholars, scientists, artists, statesmen, and humble folk. He wore with modesty the honors that came, among them the distinction of a Commander of the Order of the Southern Cross of Brazil.

His writings mirrored but a part of his substantial scholarship. They were not in well-worked fields of effort. His free choice was of unmapped subjects. His *Who's Who in Latin America* will stand as a monument to his vision of Inter-American understanding and his will to achieve it despite tremendous difficulties. His writings covered all of the twenty other American republics; his monograph on *Latin America and the War*, the study of Simón Bolívar, his numerous contributions to scholarly periodicals half a world over, are a measure of the driving energy of mind that made so substantial a record of achievement.

Percy Martin was a man of attractive human qualities. His integrity was as solid as granite. His loyalty and kindness, and his appreciation of the dignity of the individual, were visible in his every act, at home, in the classroom, and abroad. He loved life and he lived it with an abounding zest which overflowed into the exploration of nearly every human activity and left all too scant time for relaxation. No student at his side failed early to detect the stern standards by which he lived and worked. He was candid and blunt in speech, punctiliously courteous in act. Though his manner was clipped and abrupt, no hearer was deceived about his generous feelings.

As a scholar, Dr. Martin emphasized the profound influence of nature upon man. Lecturing, he always brought to his students a sense of the majesty of the continents, or the hardships of toil on the land, where men made history. Above all, he conveyed an understanding of the power of individuals in determining the course of the history of their people. The relation of men-in-action to the character of an age or the life of a nation, and the influence of minds upon the thought of subsequent ages, were never lost to his sight. His ultimate respect was reserved for those minds that had exerted forma-



tive influence on the course of civilization. His seminar in historiography at Stanford University was an intellectual experience that left no participant unchanged. The breadth and precision of his historical knowledge was the despair of the less gifted student and the envy of all. His curiosity was never dulled and never satisfied.

With all of his students he suggested rather than directed. To every interested student he gave liberally of his insight and vision. Never tolerant of slovenly effort, stern over any neglect of scholarly responsibility, he was ever a tactful, gentle critic to the conscientious student who tried to meet the exacting accomplishment his teacher expected.

Percy Martin bestowed his friendship without special favor for age, creed, birth, or position. He was a democrat in the commonwealth of man. He delighted in the enjoyment of companionable minds—he found them in every country. To them he was steadfastly loyal.

It is given to few historians, as to Percy Alvin Martin, to have influenced as a man and as a scholar the thought of the peoples of two continents so surely that his vision and values are transmuted into the friendly relationships of all the republics of the New World.

By some of his students and friends:

MANOEL CARDOZO

JOHN GANGE

HARLEY NOTTER

EASTON ROTHWELL

Washington, D. C.



## EDWARD A. HOPKINS: A PIONEER PROMOTER IN PARAGUAY<sup>1</sup>

It is likely that no American schoolboy ever heard the name of Edward Augustus Hopkins. On the other hand, few Paraguayan students have not learned of Hopkins. Throughout a decade in the middle of the last century Hopkins was a stormy petrel in the politics of the Plata region. Recurrently, for nearly a century, this turbulent son of Vermont has been the dependable whipping-boy of Paraguayan law students, publicists, and public men.

Edward Hopkins gave all fifty of his adult years to opening up and exploiting interior South America. No *El Dorado* lured a *conquistador* more unremittingly than the Plata Valley seduced Hopkins. He became a kind of composite of Cabeza de Vaca, Commodore Perry, James G. Blaine, Henry Meiggs, and Edward Tomlinson. Like Cabeza de Vaca he tramped through the bush and bramble of Southern Brazil to reach Asunción—not once, but three times. Like Commodore Perry, he was an instrument in opening to the world a long-secluded nation—the hermit people of Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez Francia. A generation before Blaine, Hopkins envisaged a congress of the American nations—with all the confidence, though without the success, of that seasoned politician. With the audacity of Henry Meiggs, he contrived transportation and industrial projects for the South American tropics. No less energetically than Edward Tomlinson did he describe the “new roads to riches in the other Americas.”

Before he reached the age of thirty-two, Hopkins had served five years in the United States Navy, had been twice appointed and recalled as special agent and consul to Paraguay, and had made six trips to South America. He had offered the fruits of his lively imagination to the public officials and businessmen of seven nations. He had won, first

<sup>1</sup> Paper read before the Hispanic-American section of the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, December 30, 1941.

the hearing, then the enduring venom of two of Latin America's most assertive dictators. He had promoted an American corporation for the exploitation of the reputed riches of the Paraguayan treasure-house. To a decade of such animated activity, the remaining forty years of his career could be but a lively postlude.

The manifold activities of this son of an Episcopalian bishop deepened his distinctive traits. His energy, enthusiasm, and endurance were unbounded. In one period of six years he made three round trips from New York to Asunción. On one occasion he rode a thousand miles in nine days; on another he went fifty-six hours with no sustenance but tobacco.<sup>2</sup> His industry and perseverance minimized obstacles, and cut through political red tape and diplomatic convention that defied his contemporaries. His sharp intelligence and his fund of miscellaneous information inspired faith in his schemes. But Hopkins' activities were never restricted by "excessive modesty," and his advances sometimes approached arrogance.<sup>3</sup> He had no more timidity in censuring the dictator, Rosas, than in chiding the gaucho who managed his ponies on a transcontinental trek. He ingratiated himself with Carlos Antonio López as easily as with the New England capitalists who backed his abortive enterprises. Edward Hopkins was the Yankee entrepreneur at his best and, sometimes, at his worst.

When he was but seventeen, Hopkins had forsaken his too sedate positions as church organist and tutor to enlist as a midshipman in the United States Navy.<sup>4</sup> During the next

<sup>2</sup> Hopkins to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, June 10, 1846, The National Archives (Washington), Department of State Archives, Special Agents, XIII; to William L. Marcy, Secretary of State, August 22, 1853 [1854], Consular Letters, Asunción, I. All Department of State manuscripts consulted for this paper are now in the custody of The National Archives. Hereafter the documents will be referred to only by the titles of the series in which they are filed, *viz.*, Special Agents, Consular Letters, Diplomatic Despatches, Diplomatic Instructions, Miscellaneous Letters, *et al.* Many, though by no means all, of the documents cited have been printed in William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860* (Washington, 1931 ff.), I, II, X.

<sup>3</sup> Charles A. Washburn, *The History of Paraguay, with Notes of Personal Observations, and Reminiscences of Diplomacy* (Boston, 1871), I, 354-355.

<sup>4</sup> *Washington Post*, June 11, 1891, p. 2.



five years he twice sailed to South America, cruising for extended periods with the Brazil Squadron.<sup>5</sup> Neither the small decks of American warships nor the exotic cities of South America were adequate to contain his repressed vitality. Three times he was brought to the bar of court-martial, for charges ranging from "disobedience of orders" to "scandalous conduct tending to destruction of good morals."<sup>6</sup> On each occasion he argued his own case.<sup>7</sup> In the final instance, his commanding officer recommended dismissal from the Navy, but President Tyler commuted the sentence to dismissal from the squadron.<sup>8</sup> A few months later—June, 1845—Hopkins terminated his tempestuous career in the Navy by resignation.<sup>9</sup> Soon he was ready to step into a new arena, broader, perhaps, than that of which he had dreamed—or, perhaps not, for his dreams were always grandiose.

Hopkins' unbecoming conduct in the Navy was no bar to the greater plans he had conceived. From his frequent stops at ports of call in the South Atlantic, he had contracted a consuming ambition to visit the recently weaned "children" of Dr. Francia and to explore the upper reaches of the rivers Paraná and Paraguay.<sup>10</sup> Even before his resignation from the Navy he was considered by the Department of State for an appointment as special agent to Asunción.<sup>11</sup> Up to this moment his experiences had consisted of six years as church

<sup>5</sup> Navy Department (Washington), Class 2, ZB-Hopkins, Edward A.; Brazil Squadron, Commodore Charles Morris, December 16, 1841, to November 3, 1842; Brazil Squadron, Commodore Daniel Turner, April 18, 1844, to April 28, 1845.

<sup>6</sup> Navy Department, Index for General Courts Martial and Courts of Inquiry, 1799-1861, nos. 786, 842, and 901; A. P. Upshur, Secretary of the Navy, to Hopkins, December 5, 1842, Class 2, ZB-Hopkins.

<sup>7</sup> Navy Department, Court Martial Records, Vols. XLI (1841-1842), XLV (1842), LI (1844); Commodore Charles Morris to Secretary of the Navy, March 10, April 5, 1842, Brazil Squadron, Commodore Charles Morris, *loc. cit.*; Commodore Daniel Turner to John Y. Mason, Secretary of the Navy, June 10, 22, 1844, Brazil Squadron, Commodore Daniel Turner, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Mason to Hopkins, September 7, 1841 [1844?], Navy Department, Class 2, ZB-Hopkins.

<sup>9</sup> Navy Department, Class 2, ZB-Hopkins.

<sup>10</sup> Hopkins, "Historico-Political Papers upon the External Affairs of the Powers of Atlantic South America," in *Weekly National Intelligencer* (Washington), April 21, 1849, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Buchanan to Hopkins, June 10, 1845, Special Missions, I, 222-223.



organist, school teacher, and rebellious midshipman; he was now twenty-two. This was the equipment he offered to the Polk administration. His personal resignation from the Navy was dated June 9th;<sup>12</sup> President Polk made him special agent to Paraguay on June 10th.<sup>13</sup> Surely this was amateur diplomacy at its zenith!

Still, Buchanan apparently knew the man he was sending as the nation's first representative to Asunción. He complimented Hopkins upon his "industry and zeal," then fatherly-like, bade him control his temper and act with utmost prudence. But these admonitions were only the sequel to instructions that imposed a responsibility of considerable weight. Hopkins was to determine the readiness of Paraguay for recognition, always "abstaining from the least intimation that you are a government agent, unless when this shall be clearly necessary to accomplish the objects of your mission."<sup>14</sup>

Such a charge was all Hopkins needed to inject his vigor into the complicated politics of Anglo-French intervention in the Río de la Plata. The mud from his exacting thousand-mile hike from Rio Grande, Brazil, to Asunción was hardly dry on his boots when he violated every counsel Buchanan had given him. In his first conference with President López—on the third day after his arrival—Hopkins assured the dictator "that the next Congress of the United States would recognize the independence of Paraguay." Moreover, he said that he "was authorized to offer the mediation of the United States, between the Governments of Paraguay and Buenos Ayres."<sup>15</sup> During his two months stay in Asunción Hopkins sent only one despatch to Washington, but that was a comprehensive report of some seven thousand words, in which he revealed that he had assumed full diplomatic powers.<sup>16</sup> From Rio de Janeiro, two months later, he assured Buchanan that Paraguay was, "next to our own country, *the most united, the richest, and the strongest nation of the new world.*"<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See note 9.

<sup>13</sup> Buchanan to Hopkins, June 10, 1845, Special Missions, I, 218.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 218-223.

<sup>15</sup> Hopkins' report of his interview with López, in his despatch to Buchanan, November 31 [*sic*], 1845, Special Agents, XIII.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> To Buchanan, February 12, 1846, *ibid.*

Even these extraordinary indiscretions did not constitute the extent of Hopkins' rashness. Completely ignoring Buchanan's admonitions of prudence, the agent secured the invitation of President López to bear propositions to General Rosas.<sup>18</sup> But Hopkins' impressive scheme to unite the Americas against the Anglo-French interference was destined to collapse on the twin rocks of his own arrogance and Rosas' refusal to accept his overtures.<sup>19</sup> From his vantage point in Montevideo Hopkins met the rebuff of Rosas with a personal letter of appalling impudence:

And what is the internal position of that part of these Provinces apparently at peace? . . . Can I present a more horrible picture to your mind than to ask you the questions; What is the executive government— What is the judicial government— What is the legislative government— The first is a despotism—the second a rotten foul tool of oppression—the third a sycophantic cringing puppet to the two former. . . .

The power by actions unmistakable and not to be construed to your discredit, to make for yourself a far greater, a far nobler, a far more lofty name in the history of the world than otherwise will ever be yours, is with you. But to do this you must entirely change your policy and government— Which do you prefer? The Character of a Francia or a Santa Anna, or that of a Washington or a Bolivar? Would it be more agreeable [*sic*] to your last moments, when the rapid

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*; Hopkins to López, March 27, 1846, Special Agents, XIII; López to Henry A. Wise, United States Minister at Rio de Janeiro, December 28, 1845, enclosure in William Brent, Jr., United States chargé d'affaires at Buenos Aires, to Buchanan, March 31, 1846; Wise to Brent, January 12, 1846, Diplomatic Despatches, Argentine Republic, V. For a narration of these negotiations, see J. F. Cady, *Foreign Intervention in the Rio de la Plata, 1838-1850* (Philadelphia, 1929), pp. 172-179.

<sup>19</sup> Brent to Buchanan, March 31, 1846, with many enclosures, Diplomatic Despatches, Argentine Republic, V; Hopkins to Buchanan, February 12, 1846, Special Agents, XIII; Felipe Arana, Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Brent, March 12, 16, 1846; Arana to Brent, March 16, 1846, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Intervención Anglo-Francesa Mediación de los Agentes de EE.UU., 1845-6. (The last item includes typed copies of manuscripts from El Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República Argentina.) An abundance of correspondence on these negotiations is to be found in Diplomatic Despatches, Argentine Republic, V, and Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires), Donación Alvear; documentos diplomáticos del General Alvear, 1823 a 1852; S1-A1-A1, No. 5.



review of your life passes before you, to be able to say, I have desolated my Country; impoverished it; ruined it, and gloated over the blood of my enemies; than to feel as the death chill creeps upon your spirit, that you die calm and contented, for your Country is happy and at peace, and you alone had caused it? Would it be more agreeable to your soul as it wings its flight to other regions, to hear the frantic joy occasioned by your death, or the sorrow [*sic*] moans of a weeping people that they had lost their father?<sup>20</sup>

Without success, therefore, Hopkins had gambled with the fortunes of two dictators, Rosas and López, but the loss of a single hand was but another episode in the extraordinary career of the twenty-three year old diplomat. First in Buenos Aires, then in Montevideo, ambitious designs for a far grander drama were whirling in his brain. He would revive Bolívar's plan for a congress of American states. Such a congress would arrange the definitive boundaries of the South American countries, would "regulate by definite & conclusive laws the rights of all to the navigation of the rivers," and would crush forever the peril of European interference in the New World. "Throughout America," he wrote, "ideas of fraternity & community in interests" would soon abound. The congress would assemble in New Orleans, and Hopkins would procure American warships to convey the delegates. He had already submitted his proposals—or so he claimed—to General Rosas, to the diplomats of Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, and Peru, and, through them, to officials of Chile and Colombia.<sup>21</sup> But this grand vision—honest and zealous though its dreamer probably was—faded with Hopkins' early recall to Washington.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> March 19, 1846, enclosure in Carlos María de Alvear, Argentine Minister in Washington, to Buchanan, July 20, 1846, Notes from Argentine Republic, I; Arana to Alvear, March 28, 1846, Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires), Estados Unidos: Ministro Alvear, 1833 a 1852, S1-A2-A4, No. 13. Brent in Buenos Aires and Buchanan in Washington immediately disavowed Hopkins' actions (Brent to Arana, March 24, 1846, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, *loc. cit.*; Buchanan to Alvear, August 14, 1846, Notes to Argentine Legation, VI, 19-21). Rosas expressed satisfaction with the disavowal. (*Mensaje del gobierno de Buenos Aires a la vigésima-cuarta legislatura*, pp. 19-21.)

<sup>21</sup> Hopkins to Wise, March 27, 1846, enclosure in Wise to Buchanan, April 29, 1846, Diplomatic Despatches, Brazil, XV.

<sup>22</sup> Buchanan to Hopkins, March 30, 1846, Special Missions, I, 235-238.



Hopkins' career now suddenly changed from that of an amateur diplomat to that of a propagandist. Half of the next five years he spent in Paraguay and adjoining provinces. Twice more he fought his way from Rio Grande to Asunción, swimming rivers, riding hundreds of half-wild horses, sometimes sleeping in the saddle.<sup>23</sup> In Paraguay he came to know the leading citizens, and familiarized himself with all sections of the country. He explored every important tributary of the rivers Paraguay and Alto Paraná, enduring toils and privations, pushing his canoe to the Brazilian frontier.<sup>24</sup> He came to know Paraguay better, perhaps, than any Paraguayan; certainly he was the best-informed American on its politics and resources.

Back in his homeland between South American journeys, Hopkins sought to focus the interest of commercial groups in the vast new regions which awaited their enterprise. Of all the new nations in the valley of the Río de la Plata, he contended, Paraguay was most deserving of American attention. "I do not surpass probability," he wrote, "when I say, that the appearance of an American river steamboat in those waters would increase our exportations to these regions a million of dollars the first year, and that this amount would double every six months thereafter, for a considerable period of time."<sup>25</sup> "The order of Providence seems to have constituted our glorious nation the guardian and the protector of South America."<sup>26</sup> Hopkins' shrill trumpetings of the nineteenth century Potosí echoed through diverse American journals: *DeBow's Review*, *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, *The*

<sup>23</sup> Hopkins to Buchanan, November 31 [sic], 1845, Special Agents, XIII; to Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, January 4, 1851, Miscellaneous Letters, January, 1851; to Marcy, August 22, 1853 [4], Consular Letters, Asunción, I; *Weekly National Intelligencer*, April 21, 1849, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*; Hopkins to Marcy, August 22, 1853 [4], Consular Letters, Asunción, I; Hopkins, *Historico-politico Memorial upon the Regions of the Río de la Plata, and Coterminous Countries, to James Buchanan, President of the United States* (New York, 1858), pp. 6-7. A manuscript copy of this memorial was sent to Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, January 25, 1858, Miscellaneous Letters, January, 1858.

<sup>25</sup> Hopkins, "The La Plata and the Parana-Paraguay," *DeBow's Review*, XIV (March, 1853), 250.

<sup>26</sup> Hopkins, "Navigation of the Confluents of the Rio de la Plata," *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, XXI (July, 1849), 86.

*American Review*, the *Weekly National Intelligencer*, and the *Bulletin of the American Geographical and Statistical Society*.<sup>27</sup> The young propagandist contributed his full share to one of his country's periodic rediscoveries of Latin America.

But Hopkins' glowing reports were much more than empty bleatings. He was the harbinger of several fundamental policies the Department of State was to pursue during the next generation. As early as 1846 he urged the United States to become the champion of the principle of free navigation of international rivers, a policy not officially adopted until seven years later.<sup>28</sup> With reference to the Monroe Doctrine, he complained because President Polk failed "to carry it out as it was originally intended."<sup>29</sup> He pleaded for the appointment of diplomatic representatives to Latin America on some more rational basis than "the reward of sycophancy, relationship, and oftentimes unscrupulous party services, without one single reference to competency for the office."<sup>30</sup> He advocated the despatch of a governmental hydrographic survey long before Lieutenant Thomas J. Page entered the Paraná with the celebrated *Water-Witch*.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> See notes 25 and 26. Among his other writings were the following: "Free Navigation of the River Paraná and its Tributaries," *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, XXVI (February, 1852), 147-155; "The Republic of Paraguay; Since the Death of the Dictator Francia," *The American Review: A Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Science*, VI (July, 1847), 245-260; "The Natural History of Paraguay; with Some Account of the Jesuits," *ibid.*, VII (January, 1848), 49-69; "Memoir on the Geography, History, Productions, and Trade of Paraguay," *Bulletin of the American Geographical and Statistical Society* (New York, 1852), I, 14-42; "Historico-Political Papers upon the External Affairs of the Powers of Atlantic South America," *Weekly National Intelligencer* (Washington), April 21, 28, May 12, 1849.

<sup>28</sup> Hopkins to Wise, March 27, 1846, Despatches, Brazil, XV; *The American Review*, *loc. cit.*, p. 253. On July 10, 1853, the Argentine Confederation signed identical treaties with England, France, and the United States providing that the rivers Paraná and Uruguay should be open to the merchant vessels of all nations during peace or war. The provision became effective, however, only when the province of Buenos Aires was incorporated into the Argentine Confederation. William M. Malloy, ed., *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols, and Agreements between the United States of America and other Powers, 1776-1909* (Washington, 1910), I, 18-20.

<sup>29</sup> *The American Review*, *loc. cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>30</sup> *Weekly National Intelligencer*, May 12, 1849, p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> Hopkins to Webster, June 30, 1851, Miscellaneous Letters, June, 1851. It

Moreover, during these years of travel and writing, Hopkins was laying the groundwork for his own promotional ventures. His frequent contacts with Paraguayan leaders gave him the inside track. He proposed a steamship company which would operate boats on Paraguayan rivers. If he were assured exclusive rights for fifteen years, he said, he could form a company with capital of \$300,000.<sup>32</sup> If he were guaranteed a monopoly on the machines and inventions he should introduce, he could organize a manufacturing company. He proposed to found an agricultural school for Paraguayan

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seems clear that Hopkins' activities contributed to the government's decision to send the Page expedition in 1854. Soon after he returned from his third trip to Paraguay in 1851, Hopkins read a paper before the newly organized American Geographical and Statistical Society of New York, of which George Bancroft was president. At its next meeting, the Society drafted a memorial to William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy, which read, in part, as follows:

"The American Geographical and Statistical Society of New York, having recently had its attention called to the great commercial importance of the countries bordering on the Río de la Plata and its tributaries, by the written and verbal reports of E. A. Hopkins, . . . has endeavored . . . to awaken a spirit of inquiry among our countrymen, and to turn the attention of our commercial classes to the vast new regions now opened to their enterprise.

"To that gentleman the Society is indebted for valuable information, not to be found in the latest geographies, and for the correct delineations of several rivers and lakes, not yet adopted even in the best maps of South America. The Society, having given as much publicity as possible, through the press of New York, to information so valuable and opportune, deems it to be within the proper scope of its duty to invoke the aid of at least one department of the Government to a subject daily growing more and more important. . . .

"It is the earnest wish of the Society, to procure through your official power and influence, an immediate survey of the river Plata, its affluents and confluents, and of the shores that are washed and made prolific, by these great rivers. It is to obtain such information, by actual and scientific observation, as will enable our navigators and merchants to enter those rivers for the purposes of trade, for the advancement of civilization, and for the promotion of the best interests of humanity. . . .

"Your Department, then, is solicited to take the first step in bringing about a commercial intercourse between those countries and the United States, through these internal and fluvial avenues. It respectfully asks that you will immediately select one of the small government steamers carrying about five feet water, to proceed to the upper tributaries of La Plata, certainly as far as Assumption, to make a geographical reconnaissance, and a hydrographical survey. . . ." (*Bulletin* . . ., I, 66-69 *passim*.)

<sup>32</sup> *El Seminario de avisos y conocimientos útiles. Periódico semanal, dedicado a los negociantes labradores e industriales* (Asunción), August 26, 1854, p. 6. This was the official newspaper of López.



boys, and was assured free land and exemption from taxation.<sup>33</sup> No one of these early projects materialized.

Meanwhile, Hopkins sought reappointment to the post from which he had once been summarily dismissed. With suppliant letters of application he and his father bombarded President Fillmore, Secretaries Clayton, Webster, and Everett, and members of Congress.<sup>34</sup> The sin of his petulant letter to Rosas, however, continued to militate against him until 1852, when he was finally rewarded with the appointment.<sup>35</sup>

Now, at last, Hopkins was ready for his greatest adventure. Armed with his commission as United States Consul, he would have official position from which to direct his commercial undertakings. Home from his third trip to Paraguay, he set about the organization of a company to underwrite his enterprises. He induced a group of Rhode Island capitalists to charter a corporation, with an initial capitalization of \$100,000. The chief purpose of The United States and Paraguay Navigation Company was to build and navigate vessels on the seas and rivers of South America, although it was also

<sup>33</sup> Juan A. Gelly, Paraguayan chargé d'affaires in Rio de Janeiro, to Hopkins, December 15, 1848, *Commission under the Convention between the United States & Paraguay: Statements and Arguments for Claimants and for the Republic, and Opinion and Award of Commissioners* (Washington, 1860), pp. 143, 145.

<sup>34</sup> From such widely scattered cities as Boston, New York, Rio Grande, Montevideo, and Asunción, between 1849 and 1852, Hopkins wrote at least nine letters to the various secretaries of state. His father, Bishop of the Episcopalian Diocese of Vermont, wrote on at least four occasions. In addition, members of the Senate attempted to use their influence with the Department of State. These many letters are to be found in Department of State Archives, Appointment Records, Hopkins, in various volumes of Miscellaneous Letters, and in Library of Congress MSS., Daniel Webster Papers, XII.

<sup>35</sup> Clayton to Hopkins, June 15, 1849, Domestic Letters, XXXVII, 228; to William A. Harris, United States chargé d'affaires at Buenos Aires, December 27, 1849, Instructions, Argentine Republic, XV. Hopkins was appointed consul at Asunción on February 14, 1851, but the commission was not immediately delivered. (Hopkins, *Historico-politico Memorial* . . . , p. 7; Manning, *op. cit.*, X, 29 n.) In the meantime, Hopkins applied directly to President Fillmore for nomination as "United States Commissioner" to Paraguay with full diplomatic powers. He needed this higher grade, he said, in order that he might compete more favorably with the agents of Great Britain and France. (Hopkins to Everett, December 17, 1852, and enclosed memorandum to Fillmore, Appointment Records, Hopkins.) Hopkins did not take over his duties as consul until November 14, 1853.

authorized to transact any "other lawful business."<sup>36</sup> A prime mover in the corporation was Samuel G. Arnold, lieutenant-governor of Rhode Island, who, in wide travels, had visited Chile and Argentina, where he had formed friendships with Bartolomé Mitre and Domingo F. Sarmiento.<sup>37</sup> Hopkins was made agent for the area south of the equator. He was to receive a salary of \$2,000 and five per cent of the profits until his share should amount to \$30,000, when he would be paid \$10,000 in cash and \$20,000 in the stock of the company. Paraguay, of course, was selected as the area of operations.<sup>38</sup>

The first expedition was soon sent out. It was a river steamer, loaded with all manner of the latest American machinery—steam engines, road scrapers, paper-cutting machines, agricultural and blacksmithing supplies, cigar-making equipment, a steam sawmill, a sugar-mill, and a brick-making machine—together with knocked-down ships, stoves, safes, and seventeen varieties of clocks.<sup>39</sup> Several scores of American and Cuban workmen—machinists, cigar-makers, common laborers—accompanied the expedition.<sup>40</sup>

Upon the arrival of the men and equipment in Paraguay, the company immediately acquired land and buildings at Asunción and at San Antonio, ten miles below the capital, where water power could be developed. The company was aided by the promises of López and by public decrees which granted patent rights to foreigners who first introduced implements or manufacturing processes. Various enterprises were soon under way, and by the early months of 1854 busi-

<sup>36</sup> *Charter and By-laws of the United States and Paraguay Navigation Company* (Providence, 1853), pp. 3-4.

<sup>37</sup> *Proceedings of the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1879-1880* (Providence, 1879-1880), II, 94; *Providence Daily Journal*, February 13, 1880; *Burlington Free Press* (Burlington, Vermont), June 16, 1891.

<sup>38</sup> *Commission under the Convention between the United States & Paraguay*, p. 105.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 148-151; J. B. Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a party*, . . . (Washington, 1898), II, 1496-1499.

<sup>40</sup> *Commission under the Convention between the United States & Paraguay*, pp. 123 ff.; Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, to James B. Bowlin, United States commissioner to Paraguay, October 6, 1858, *Diplomatic Instructions, Paraguay*, I, 4-5.

ness seemed to be thriving. The company put into operation the first steam sawmill in Paraguay, the profits from which were expected to approach \$32,725 a year, and the brick-making machine, which it was hoped would turn out ten thousand bricks a day. Land was soon brought under cultivation with the new American implements, and the manufacture of cigars was begun.<sup>41</sup> Hopkins, at last, seemed about to realize his cherished dream. Now he could bring the fruits of civilization to a country, "more worthy of her rights in the family of nations, than any other republic on this Continent save our own," as he had once described Paraguay.<sup>42</sup>

Nevertheless, Hopkins' great hopes for Paraguay—and for himself and his company—were never to be realized. The domain of López, which the Consul had so zealously advertised for ten years, was no longer the hospitable paradise he had envisaged. The Paraguayan people, who had received him with "a joy and a cordiality," now seemed to him "the retrograde slaves of the Jesuits, an infernal mixture of all the original types of the human race." President López, who had appeared "a man possessing a high degree of talent, much determination of character, good information, some tenacity, and a large share of sensitiveness lest he should be thought ignorant," was now an insolent, raging, old tyrant.<sup>43</sup> The prospective paradise became a sea of troubles, and in less than a year Hopkins had lost his *exequatur* as consul, and all his enterprises had been closed.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*; Hopkins to Marcy, August 22, 1854, Consular Letters, Asunción, I; *Commission under the Convention between the United States & Paraguay*, pp. 2-4, 144. The Paraguayan Government later contended that the profits claimed by the company were illusory. (*Ibid.*, pp. 78-83.)

<sup>42</sup> Hopkins to Buchanan, November 31 [*sic*], 1845, Special Missions, XIII.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*; Hopkins to Marcy, August 22, 30, September 2, 25, 1854, Consular Letters, Asunción, I. Two years later, after he had moved to Buenos Aires, Hopkins published a 27-page tirade against López, entitled *La tiranía del Paraguay, a la faz de sus contemporáneos* (Buenos Aires, 1856).

<sup>44</sup> José Falcón, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Paraguay, to Marcy, September 2, 1854, Notes from Paraguay, I; Hopkins to Marcy, September 2, 1854, Consular Letters, Asunción, I. Much of the material relating to Hopkins' difficulties with President López was published in the dictator's official organ, *El Seminario de avisos y conocimientos útiles*, and later brought together in a volume entitled *Historia documentada de las cuestiones entre el gobierno del Paraguay y el de los Estados Unidos* (Asunción, 1858-1859).



The responsibility for this sudden turn in Hopkins' fortunes lay on both sides. By the introduction of improvements from industrial nations President López had planned a new day for his country. But, undoubtedly, he hoped, too, for personal enrichment. Like Gómez in Venezuela, he sought monopolistic control of prospering business enterprises. Moreover, he may have feared that the Americans were bringing his people ideas of liberty and natural rights as well as the skills they so much needed.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, he speedily took steps to break up the company by hedging it about with unreasonable restrictions and by confiscating some of its properties.<sup>46</sup>

On the other hand, because of Hopkins' character and reputation, it seems extremely doubtful that he was entirely guiltless in any quarrel with a jealous dictator. By the testimony of his own employees "he had a swaggering, bullying way with him," and "his deportment was always tyrannical and overbearing."<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the arrogance and enthusiasm which had so often perplexed his associates undoubtedly helped to produce the annoyances that drove his company from Paraguay.<sup>48</sup> At any rate, Hopkins' promotional career in Paraguay was finished.

<sup>45</sup> Hopkins to Marcy, August 22, 30, 1854, Consular Letters, Asunción, I; Thomas J. Page, Lieutenant Commanding U. S. S. *Water-Witch*, to Marcy, November 5, 1854, Special Agents, XIX; Page, *La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay* . . . (New York, 1859), p. 284; Washburn, *A History of Paraguay*, I, 360; *Commission under the Convention between the United States & Paraguay*, pp. 24, 51.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-29; Hopkins to Marcy, August 22, 30, September 2, 1854, Consular Letters, Asunción, I; Falcón to Marcy, September 2, 1854, Notes from Paraguay, I; Archivo General de la Nación (Asunción), Vol. 9, no. 23, Decretos circulares de Gobierno sobre prohibición de comprar de esclavos por los extranjeros y consiguiente libertad de los que tenían: otro sobre contrata de extranjeros con peones paraguayos: otro sobre guardas que deben llevar los buques mercantes y otro cesación del Execuatur dado en los credenciales del Cónsul Norte Americano Eduardo A. Hoskis; Vol. 74, no. 4, Expediente creado á consecuencia de la compra ilegal que hizo el Norte Americano D. Eduardo A. Hopkins, de las tierras de San Antonio . . .; Vol. 86, no. 2, "Legajo de Correspondencias Oficiales con E. U. al del Paraguay con los Gobiernos de los López desde 1845 hasta 1864."

<sup>47</sup> *Commission under the Convention between the United States & Paraguay*, pp. 123-124.

<sup>48</sup> Archivo General de la Nación (Asunción), Vol. 116, no. 21, Legajo de

The sequel to this curious episode was equally grotesque. The United States and Paraguay Navigation Company immediately filed claims with the Department of State, not only for the losses it incurred, but also for the profits it might have made.<sup>49</sup> Other grievances against López accumulated—his attack upon the *Water-Witch* and his failure to ratify a commercial treaty—and by 1858 President Buchanan resolved to liquidate them.<sup>50</sup> He dispatched to the Río de la Plata 19 vessels and 2500 men—the largest naval force sent from American shores up to that time.<sup>51</sup> A special commissioner, James B. Bowlin, accompanied the fleet, only part of which was sent up the river to Asunción. Bowlin negotiated two

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papeles del interior relativos á las barbaras tropelías de Hokis: que son algunos remitidos garantidos, y tres oficios uno del Obispo, otro del Vicario y otro del Capitán del Puerto, este sobre unos efectos que quizo cargar Hokis sin los credenciales de costumbre; Falcón to Marcy, September 2, 1854, Notes from Paraguay, I; Nicolás Vázquez, Paraguayan minister of foreign affairs, to Richard Fitzpatrick, special agent of the United States to Paraguay, November 8, 1856, enclosure in Vázquez to Marcy, November 29, 1856, Notes from Paraguay, I; Page to Secretary of the Navy, September 1, 1854, Navy Department, Letters &c. from Lieutenant Thomas J. Page, Commanding U. S. Steamer "Water Witch."

<sup>49</sup> W. M. Bailey, treasurer of The United States and Paraguay Navigation Co., to Marcy, September 28, 1855, and enclosure, Miscellaneous Letters, September, 1855. During the next four years agents of the company continued to send memorials to the Department of State. Their letters appear in various volumes of Miscellaneous Letters. For a statement of the expenditures of the company for its expedition to Paraguay, see *Commission under the Convention between the United States & Paraguay*, pp. 148-151.

<sup>50</sup> James Daniel Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1896-1899), V, 449; *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, . . . (Boston and Washington, 1845 ff.), XI, 319, 370. For accounts of the negotiations with Paraguay from 1855 to 1859, see Harold F. Peterson, "Urquiza y el enredo Paraguayo-Norteamericano," *Academia Nacional de la Historia, Segundo congreso internacional de historia de América, reunido en Buenos Aires en los días 5 a 14 de julio de 1937* (Buenos Aires, 1938), IV, 320-330, and Henry M. Wriston, *Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations* (Baltimore, 1929), pp. 664-670.

<sup>51</sup> Commodore W. B. Shubrick, to Isaac Toucey, secretary of the navy, September 9, 1858, Navy Department, Paraguay Expedition and Brazil Squadron; Isaac Toucey to Shubrick, October 9, 1858, Navy Department, Confidential Letters, No. 4 (October 20, 1857-September 6, 1861), pp. 103-104. The day-to-day movements of the fleet are described in Amos Lawrence Mason, ed., *Memoir and Correspondence of Charles Steedman, Rear Admiral, United States Navy, with his Autobiography and Private Journals, 1811-1890* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 155-265.

treaties with Paraguay, one of friendship and commerce, another providing settlement or arbitration of accumulated disputes. Buchanan reported the "happy effect" of the expedition, although the claims of the company were never satisfied.<sup>52</sup> Hopkins had no share in these negotiations.

In the meantime, the frustrated promoter repaired to Argentina, where a more progressive people, recently rid of Rosas, was preparing to grapple with its frontiers. Hopkins, still only thirty-two, quickly plunged into the second phase of his South American promotions. All of his remaining thirty-seven years he devoted to the development of growing Argentina.<sup>53</sup> First he inaugurated steam navigation on the Paraná, sending three vessels into Argentine river ports where steamboats had never been seen.<sup>54</sup> Soon he was authorized to construct and operate wharves and dock facilities in ports from Rosario to Corrientes. The Argentine government gave him a monthly subsidy of a thousand dollars and freed his boats from port charges and regulations.<sup>55</sup> In Buenos Aires he was commissioned to construct a railroad from the capital out through the suburbs of Palermo, Belgrano, and San Fernando.<sup>56</sup> Visualizing Argentina's need for manpower, in 1857 he presented a two-hundred-page memorial to the legislature, incorporating a model law for the encouragement of immigration.<sup>57</sup> In Argentina Hopkins was

<sup>52</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*, V, 560; Malloy, *op. cit.*, II, 1364-1369; Manning, ed., *Arbitration Treaties among the American Nations to the Close of the Year 1910* (Washington, 1924), pp. 45-48. The official records of the arbitration commission created under the second treaty were published in *Commission under the Convention between the United States & Paraguay . . .* (Washington, 1860).

<sup>53</sup> Hopkins' promotions in Argentina—somewhat more successful than those in Paraguay—need fuller investigation.

<sup>54</sup> Hopkins to Marcy, December 9, 1854, Consular Letters, Asunción, I; Hopkins, *Historico-político Memorial . . .*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13; *Registro oficial de la República Argentina que comprende los documentos espeditos desde 1810 hasta 1873* (Buenos Aires, 1879-1884), III, 215-216.

<sup>56</sup> Hopkins, *Historico-político Memorial . . .*, p. 13; *Washington Post*, June 11, 1891, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Autochthonos [pseud. for Hopkins], *Memoria acompañando un proyecto de ley, proveyendo los medios de disponer de las tierras públicas de la Confederación Argentina y otros objetos* (Buenos Aires, 1857. Proyecto de ley, pp. 168-218, printed at Rosario, 1856).



restricted by none of the curbs which had cut down his enterprises in Paraguay.<sup>58</sup>

During the sixties, in spite of the war with Paraguay, Hopkins continued to receive support for new ventures. The Argentine Congress legalized his schemes for deepening the channel of the river Capitán and for building a telegraph line to Rosario, Mendoza, and Santiago de Chile.<sup>59</sup> With Hinton R. Helper, he induced Argentina to authorize an annual subvention of \$20,000 to any company which would establish direct steamship communication between New York and Buenos Aires.<sup>60</sup> To support this much-needed project Hopkins prepared for the American House of Representatives two petitions, one of which was signed by many prominent South Americans, including seven supreme court justices of Argentina and Uruguay.<sup>61</sup> The close of the long Paraguayan War brought forth the most pretentious of all Hopkins' abortive proposals. He would build a railroad and telegraph line to connect the river Pilcomayo in the Chaco with Lake Titicaca. Such a road, he argued, would be far more practical than that to Santiago, which had been proposed, and would bring into the sphere of Argentine economy several millions of new consumers.<sup>62</sup> But, like so many of Hopkins' schemes, this bubble, too, was destined to collapse.

<sup>58</sup> Hopkins, *Historico-político Memorial* . . . , p. 13.

<sup>59</sup> *Registro oficial*, V, 37-38; *Diario de las sesiones de la cámara de diputados* (Buenos Aires, 1886 ff.), 1863, II, 901-903; 1866, pp. 314-319; *Diario de las sesiones de la cámara de senadores* (Buenos Aires, 1883 ff.), 1863, pp. 803-804; 1865, pp. 149-153, 579; 1866, pp. 186-195, 215, 298, 353-365, 571-572.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 583; Helper to William H. Seward, secretary of state, March 13, 1863, December 27, 1864, Consular Letters, Buenos Aires, X; Robert C. Kirk, United States Minister in Buenos Aires, to Seward, July 26, 1865, Diplomatic Despatches, Argentine Republic, XV.

<sup>61</sup> *The Extension of the Proposed U. S. and Brazil Steamship-Line, from Rio de Janeiro, to Buenos Aires. A Memorial to the Forty-Fifth Congress* (New York, 1878); *The Argentine Republic, and Conterminous Countries. An Address Delivered by Edward Augustus Hopkins, before the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New-York, at its 120th Annual Meeting, Held May 3, 1888* (New York, 1888).

<sup>62</sup> Hopkins, *Memorial al Honorable Congreso Argentina sobre el mejor modo de abrir relaciones comerciales entre la República Argentina y la de Bolivia* (Buenos Aires, 1871); *Diario de sesiones de la cámara de senadores*, 1872, pp. 44, 50-51.

During the thirty-seven years of his Argentine residence, Hopkins made at least five trips to the United States. On each of these he used every opportunity to tell the nation of the importance of improved trade facilities with South America. He addressed such groups as the New York Chamber of Commerce; he presented memorials to Congress.<sup>63</sup> Even on his last trip in 1891 he came as secretary of the Argentine delegation to an international railway conference.<sup>64</sup>

Though he often toiled in vain, Hopkins gave a lifetime to pioneer promotions in the valley of the Río de la Plata. His energy and overzealousness often brought embarrassment and annoyance to himself, to his associates, and to his country. As United States Consul, he revealed amateur diplomacy at its worst. As a propagandist, he shared in one of his country's rediscoveries of Latin America. As a pioneer promoter, his failures outweighed his achievements.

Edward Hopkins first saw the shores of South America in 1841; perhaps he lived a century too soon.

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<sup>63</sup> See note 61; *Los Angeles Sunday Times*, June 28, 1891.

<sup>64</sup> *Washington Post*, June 11, 1891, p. 2. On June 10, 1891, while in Washington, Hopkins died.

## THE CREEL COMMITTEE IN LATIN AMERICA\*

The nations of the New World were slow to realize their interdependence during World War I. That realization had been obscured by the Central Powers because, for three years following the declaration of war in 1914, the countries of the Western Hemisphere allowed German intrigue to run an almost unimpeded course within their boundaries.<sup>1</sup> Finally, in 1917, that situation began to change. The United States of America declared war upon Germany, and began to feel more keenly than ever the need for good will from and toward all her neighbors. To assist in the creation of that good will, President Wilson and his advisers determined to combat German propaganda by making the whole world acquainted with our war aims. From the outset this nation suffered under severe handicaps in getting Latin America to believe our protestations of disinterestedness and friendship. In addition to playing up the cultural, social, political and historical differences between the American democracy and her neighbors, the Germans stressed the menace of the "yanqui," and the impossibility of Germany losing the war.<sup>2</sup>

German propaganda, however, was varied in kind and amount for every Latin-American country. Of those nations, Mexico received the greatest attention from the Central Powers.<sup>3</sup> They had a central office in Mexico City, and the men in charge gave their services free. The amount expended was estimated to be at least \$25,000 a month. All the pro-German newspapers in Mexico were said to be subsidized.

\* Note: This paper is based largely on the records of the Committee of Public Information, now in the National Archives. The citations are CPI with the classification number.

<sup>1</sup> G. E. Ward to W. E. Chapman, Mazatlán, Mexico, Jan. 25, 1918. CPI 17-A6(4) Folder: "Mexico month of March."

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Murray to C. I. Dawson, Mexico City, June 16, 1918. CPI 17-A2(15) Folder: Murray Corres. July-August.

<sup>3</sup> Military Intelligence Report, May 13, 1918. CPI 17-E2 Folder: "Argentina."



Speakers on Germany's commercial supremacy were lecturing in the theaters, and trained agents, frequenting places where working men congregated, were used extensively.<sup>4</sup>

Second only to Mexico, Argentina was another headquarters for German intrigue in the New World. The objects of Teutonic machinations were to keep Argentina neutral, and, by encouragement of sabotage, to cause as much economic disturbance as possible resulting in loss of supplies to the allies. When the United States entered the war, according to Military Intelligence, a fund of \$6,000,000 was transferred to German banks in Buenos Aires for propaganda work.<sup>5</sup>

Santiago, Chile was the third center of Teutonic propaganda. From that city pro-German printed material was sent to all parts of Chile, Costa Rica, Salvador and every South American country. Through the efforts of one of the German consuls, the organization established more than eighty local committees to carry on this activity. Here, as in the other countries, the objects were to encourage German sympathizers, to spread antipathy for the Allied cause, to introduce German institutions of "kultur" and to penetrate neutral countries, peaceably, with a view to the resumption and extension of German commercial power.<sup>6</sup>

As though these activities of the Central Powers were not sufficient handicaps, the North American democracy faced some that originated within its own boundaries. For years this nation had been "unfortunately advertised" throughout Latin America. With some notable exceptions, it could be stated that brief items, often sensational in character and never with background or proportion, had constituted the news sent from this country. Added to this was the fact that many important news distributing centers had received no direct news from North America.<sup>7</sup> The same criticism applied

<sup>4</sup> Military Intelligence Report, April 1, 1918. CPI 17-A6(4) Folder: "Mexico month of April."

<sup>5</sup> Military Intelligence Report, May 13, 1918. CPI 17-E2 Folder: "Argentina."

<sup>6</sup> Report of Naval Attaché, Santiago, Sept. 4, 1918. CPI 23-A1(2). Military Intelligence Report, Jan. 26, 1918. CPI 17-A7(1) Folder: "Comm. S. A."

<sup>7</sup> Report of Division of Foreign Press up to Feb. 1, 1918. CPI 17-A1(19) Folder: "Poole-Ernest—To July 1."

to many motion pictures shipped from this country. Of that means of idea communication which could have been making Latin Americans acquainted with their northern neighbors, it was said "they are making the public believe that life in the United States is a sort of a continuous Theda Bara offering."<sup>8</sup> Miss Bara was the leading vampire and home wrecker of the cinema in those days.

To combat these influences working against the United States, President Wilson called upon the American Committee on Public Information. That organization had been created by Executive Order No. 2594, on April 13, 1917, and consisted of newspaperman and writer George Creel, and representatives of the Secretaries of State, War and Navy.<sup>9</sup> Creel was the chairman of the committee which was planned originally to keep only the citizens of this country informed about our war aims and activities.<sup>10</sup> Within a month after its establishment, however, the Creel agency had realized that Latin America also was entitled to such information, and began laying its plans accordingly. Creel's intentions aroused the fears of John Barrett, Director General of the Pan American Union. He wrote Secretary of War Baker that too much emphasis could not be laid upon conducting the right kind of a publicity campaign for the United States throughout Latin America. With all due respect to Creel's committee, Barrett held that only experts in Latin-American politics, in newspaper and other publication agencies, and in the psychology of the people could determine what was best for the individual countries and sections of Latin America. The director stated that there were few men in the United States who were authorities on all Latin America in the true sense of the word. He was positive that much harm had been done to Pan American relations by the utterances and acts of men who thought they understood those countries, peoples and characters.<sup>11</sup>

The Committee on Public Information wisely heeded such

<sup>8</sup> F. E. Ackerman to H. N. Rickey, New York, Dec. 28, 1918. CPI 17-A2(21) Folder: "Sevier-Argentina Buenos Aires cables July-Dec."

<sup>9</sup> James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War* (Princeton, 1939), p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 235-236.

<sup>11</sup> Barrett to Baker, Washington, May 8, 1917. 2638709 AGO. Inclosure 47.



suggestions, and went a step farther. It was not content to sit in this country and send cables, news features, photographs, films, an unrelated stream of travelers and transient representatives to the countries we were trying to make acquainted with us. No pairs of amateur agents were sent around the edge of South America to return and make superficial reports. That agency knew that its representatives had to reside in the Latin-American countries if we were to know whether our films, news and articles were effective or merely expensive. Consequently the publicity committee selected as resident representative in each country, Americans who knew the nation in which they were to work. When this was not possible, use was made of a few highly coöperative members of our diplomatic family. Failing that, pro-United States natives were employed.

In Mexico, where German activity was at its highest point of efficiency, the Creel committee was represented by Robert H. Murray as commissioner. He was the staff correspondent of the *New York World*, and had covered every stage of the Mexican situation. He had known and had interviewed nearly every contemporary leader since the beginning of the present century.<sup>12</sup>

Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile had Henry H. Sevier for their resident commissioner. Sevier and his family had long been identified with the interests and development of Texas. He had served in the Texas legislature, and, at the time of his appointment by Creel, was editor of the *Austin American*. According to Senator Morris Sheppard, Sevier had "consistently, vigorously and effectively upheld and supported the policies of President Wilson."<sup>13</sup> Sevier did not work alone in those four nations. In Montevideo he received the valuable coöperation of Consul Thomas Dawson, leaders of the American colony, and Federico C. Crocker, an influential American with important connections.<sup>14</sup> The work in Chile was performed, until Sevier could give more attention

<sup>12</sup> Mock and Larson, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

<sup>13</sup> Sheppard to Woods, Washington, March 1, 1918. CPI 17-A2(22) Folder: "Sevier Corres. B. Aires Argentina."

<sup>14</sup> Sevier to Sisson, Buenos Aires, Sept. 28, 1918. CPI 24-A2 Folder: "Telegrams."

to it, by A. A. Preciado, a Californian of Spanish ancestry who spoke the language of his forebears.<sup>15</sup>

Our publicity in the nations north of Chile, Argentina and Brazil was handled by C. N. Griffis, S. P. Verner, and John O. Collins. All three were newspapermen. Griffis was editor of the *West Coast Leader* of Lima, Peru, and was assigned Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia.<sup>16</sup> Verner, who had worked on the leading paper in Panama for several years prior to 1918,<sup>17</sup> sent news material by mail to Colombia and to the countries of Central America.<sup>18</sup> Collins was the correspondent on the Isthmus of Panama for the Associated Press.<sup>19</sup>

The individual who did most in shaping and organizing the work of the Creel committee in South America was Lieutenant F. E. Ackerman. He was sent there to develop the activities of the organization and spent approximately six months establishing its bureaus and publicity channels. He prepared the way especially for Sevier and his cohorts. In Ackerman's correspondence may be found the reasons why no commissioner of the Committee on Public Information was appointed in Brazil. He stated that among the Americans there, few journalists were to be found, "and it is essentially a newspaperman's job." Again, when Ackerman discovered a man with some newspaper experience, he was either employed in an important capacity that would not admit of changing, or he was wholly unfitted for the task.<sup>20</sup> No person with the necessary qualifications was found, and Lieutenant William Y. Boyd, assistant naval attaché at the American Embassy in Brazil, performed most of the work desired by the Creel committee.<sup>21</sup> In those efforts, Boyd and the Creel

<sup>15</sup> Irwin to Ackerman, Washington, April 23, 1918. CPI 24-A2 Folder: "Telegrams."

<sup>16</sup> Ackerman to Sisson, New York, Oct. 24, 1918. CPI 17-A2(1) Folder: "Ackerman-Corres. July-Oct."; Ford to Irwin, Washington, March 5, 1918. CPI 17-A2(7) Folder: "Griffis Lima, Peru Corres."

<sup>17</sup> Memorandum, Cristobal, C. Z., May 15, 1919. CPI 17-A2(23) Folder: "Verner reports."

<sup>18</sup> Collins to Rogers, Ancon, C. Z., Nov. 14, 1918. CPI 17-A2(5) Folder: "Collins, John O."

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Ackerman to Sisson, Santiago, July 25, 1918. CPI 17-A2(1) Folder: "Ackerman reports."



organization were guided by the advice of our minister to Brazil, Edwin V. Morgan.

The representatives of the Committee on Public Information constituted a continent-wide sounding board for the publicity activities emanating from the United States. They received and distributed the various forms of idea communication; noted and reported what types of news, feature articles and cinemas had the desired effect upon the Latin Americans; received from the southern republics requests for information about the economic, social, educational or political phases of our national life. In each nation the commissioners used any fair means they could to make our neighbors aware of our high and disinterested aims and ideals. To furnish the commissioners with all the means they needed, the Creel committee established three branches of its foreign service. These were the wireless-cable service, the foreign press bureau, and the foreign file division.<sup>22</sup>

Murray was the first commissioner to start his publicity activities. He opened the office of the Mexico section of the Committee on Public Information March 1, 1918, with a staff of four persons.<sup>23</sup> Three months later he reported that he had twenty-one employees and that he had organized departments of news, motion pictures, mail, and picture board.<sup>24</sup> From the beginning of his work, Murray never lost sight of two facts. The people among whom he was working were trained by environment and by previous experience to believe strictly in what had occurred instead of what was going to occur.<sup>25</sup> Thus, instead of indulging in documentary exhibitions of wishful thinking about the number of aeroplanes we were going to produce, roseate predictions of future victories, and other similarly promised, but unrealized, exploits, Murray—and the entire Committee on Public Information—only told what the United States had done. The second fact was that

<sup>22</sup> Reports of the Foreign Section. CPI 17-A2.

<sup>23</sup> Murray to Creel, Mexico City, March 19, 1918. CPI 17-A2(16) Folder: "Murray-Cab.-Mex.-Jan.-May."

<sup>24</sup> Report, Mexico Section, June 1, 1918. CPI 17-A2(15) Folder: "Mur-Repts-Aug.-Sept."

<sup>25</sup> Blocker to State Department, Piedras Negras, Coahuila, Mexico, Feb. 27, 1918. CPI 17-A6(4) Folder: "Mexico Mo. of March."

truth was the basis of continuing, effective publicity. Of Murray's efforts in that respect, *La Prensa*, of Puebla, Mexico, stated that the commissioner had never diverged from the truth, and had never tried to alter telegrams whether they were favorable or adverse to the nation of which he was a citizen.<sup>26</sup>

By June, 1918, the News department was functioning efficiently. It distributed over the telegraph lines of the Mexican government the cable news received daily from New York, and sent out by mail, news and special matter throughout the republic. The daily news service was furnished to eleven papers, and for others Murray's organization was instrumental in getting the Associated Press service. Thus, three-fourths of the leading papers of Mexico were sympathetically in touch with the Mexico section of the Committee on Public Information. In addition to the current news, the department circulated more than 260,000 pieces of literature including a pamphlet entitled, "If the Germans Should Come to Mexico, or Practices of the German Army," and another on the treatment of Catholic priests by the Germans.<sup>27</sup>

Visual publicity received due attention. The picture boards—wooden frames mounting twelve photographs—were placed in conspicuous windows throughout Mexico City, and the photographs were changed weekly.<sup>28</sup> Posters stressing the war effort of the United States and its friendship for Mexico were prominently displayed.<sup>29</sup> And in the realm of motion pictures more than 184,000 feet of films were exhibited in Mexico City alone.<sup>30</sup> These cinemas included animated cartoons, weekly current events, and longer films, such as, "Pershing's Crusaders." For obvious reasons the title of that picture was changed to "America in the War."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Murray to Rickey, Mexico City, Dec. 21, 1918. CPI 17-A2(14) Folder: "Murray-Corres-December."

<sup>27</sup> Report, Mexico Section, June 1, 1918. CPI 17-A2(15) Folder: "Mur-Repts-Aug.-Sept."

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Rubel to Murray, Washington, April 29, 1918. CPI 17-A2(15) Folder: "Murray-Corres-March-June"; Murray to Sisson, Mexico City, Sept. 21, 1918. CPI 17-A2(15) Folder: "Murray, Robert H. Corres Sept."

In Mexico City, Murray and his staff used three other publicity approaches with success. The first of these was a reading room in which the citizens of the capital could look at pictures or read books, periodical literature, and pamphlets—all in Spanish—dealing with our war efforts or merely with news from the United States. During the single month of October, 1918, more than eleven thousand persons availed themselves of the facilities of the reading room.<sup>32</sup> The second approach was by means of a school conducted by employees of the Mexico section. Classes were held in English, shorthand, French, with special classes in the two languages. During the same month of October, more than fourteen hundred individuals attended this school.<sup>33</sup> Finally, on Saturday evenings, lectures were given that had every appearance of being well received.<sup>34</sup> Of all his publicity activities in Mexico, Murray was most reluctant to abandon the school. When he was discontinuing the Mexico section, in January, 1919, he wrote his superior in Washington that its continuance was valuable and important from the standpoint of the permanent interest of our government, and that the American ambassador was of the same opinion.<sup>35</sup> His suggestion was in vain.

The commissioner also edited a Spanish newspaper entitled, *Boletín oficial del diario*. This paper carried more international news and less about the activities of the United States Government departments. It consciously stressed articles of interest to Mexico.<sup>36</sup> With the editing of a newspaper, the problem of effective distribution had to be solved. This was accomplished by the preparation of a mailing list for cities, towns or other places of importance. The list included names of all government officials, state and national legislators, lawyers, physicians, other professional men, and merchants.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Murray to Sisson, Mexico City, Nov. 2, 1918. CPI 1-C4(2) Folder: "Mexico."

<sup>33</sup> Murray to Sisson, Mexico City, Nov. 2, 1918. CPI 1-C4(2) Folder: "Mexico." <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Murray to Rickey, Mexico City, Jan. 13, 1919. CPI 17-A2(14) Folder: "Murray-Cables Nov.-Dec.-Jan." <sup>36</sup> For copies see CPI 17-G5.

<sup>37</sup> Murray to Creel, Mexico City, March 19, 1918. CPI 17-A2(16) Folder: "Murray-Cab-Mex-Jan.-May."



While Mexico City was the headquarters for the Creel organization, its work was carried on throughout almost all Mexico. Murray's representatives embraced the consular officers of our Department of State. Where we had no such officials, the work was performed by British consular representatives, individual Americans, British, French or friendly disposed Mexicans. These persons were assisted by "correspondents" who distributed literature, circulated motion picture films, and posted bulletins, always guided by conditions that confronted them locally.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to furnishing them news, the Creel committee tried in another way to acquaint Mexican papers with their northern neighbor. Twenty newspapermen were selected from the capital and from the various states of the Mexican republic to make a tour of the United States. Lieutenant P. F. O'Reilley, personnel officer of the New York Censorship, was selected as guide. O'Reilley had lived in the Philippines, spoke Spanish, and was familiar with Spanish customs. The trip, in a special car, extended from Laredo, Texas, through the leading cities and industrial centers of this country from New York to Seattle, and lasted forty-three days. According to O'Reilley, the tour was "one great display of friendship and good will on the part of the Americans toward the Mexicans."<sup>39</sup>

O'Reilley's unheeded suggestion, as a result of this trip, is worth noting. He urged that the Committee on Public Information follow up the Mexican journalists' tour with an invitation for a similar trip to the bankers and merchants of Mexico. "This to be later followed by an official visit from members of the Mexican Congress and other high government officials." He believed that such trips would reveal the United States to those who made and held public opinion in the southern republic.<sup>40</sup>

Second only to Mexico in the eyes of the German propagandist, was Argentina. To the Allies it was important for

<sup>38</sup> Report Mexico section, June 1, 1918. CPI 17-A2(15) Folder: "Mur-Repts-Aug.-Sept."

<sup>39</sup> O'Reilley to Rogers, New York, July 24, 1918. CPI 2-E10.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

it supplied them with wheat, beef, wool, hides, and tungsten;<sup>41</sup> consequently, the Teutons used their own nationals there to organize propaganda societies, and supplied them with information sheets for printers, periodicals, pamphlets, and books.<sup>42</sup>

To start the work of our publicity in Argentina, as well as in Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile, Lieutenant F. E. Ackerman hurried to those countries from Brazil early in 1918. By May of that year he reported that he had arranged to coöperate with British and Italian propaganda organizations. He also made arrangements with a number of American banks, packing houses, and general importing and exporting concerns to carry in all their South-American correspondence enclosures printed and sent them by the Creel committee's New York office. Those enclosures contained excerpts from President Wilson's speeches, and information on timely topics. Ackerman negotiated for the printing in German of the utterances of great Teutonic liberals. Within a month after he had reached Buenos Aires, his organization was averaging a column a day in at least twenty-five important newspapers. The cabled feature service was being supplied throughout Argentina, and was being printed in full nearly everywhere.<sup>43</sup> Our material was also appearing regularly in religious, scientific, agricultural, financial, engineering, and commercial publications, as well as in those of a purely entertaining character.<sup>44</sup>

The work thus started by Ackerman was continued by Sevier. The latter expanded the publicity activities in Paraguay, Uruguay, and Chile, while using Buenos Aires as his headquarters. His organization prepared and distributed widely morning and evening news services; supplied periodicals with a regular complement of special stories, cuts, and features; and furnished a continuous stream of photographs for display boards in the metropolis and in the provinces.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Military Intelligence Report, May 13, 1918. CPI 17-E2.

<sup>42</sup> Report of Naval Attaché, Buenos Aires, Sept. 4, 1918. CPI 23-A1(2).

<sup>43</sup> Military Intelligence Reports, May 13, 1918. CPI 17-E2. Folder: "Argentina."

<sup>44</sup> Ackerman to Sisson, Santiago, July 17, 1918. CPI 17-A2(1) Folder: "Ackerman-Corres-July-Oct."

<sup>45</sup> Sevier to Sisson, Buenos Aires, July 22, 1918. CPI 17-A2(21) Folder: "Sevier Reports."

Those display boards served an especially useful purpose. Many of our American firms had branches in Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Chile, but especially in the first named. These concerns readily assented to placing the picture boards in their display windows. A branch of Swift and Company wrote Sevier that it had exhibited the photographs first in Buenos Aires, and then had sent them to their affiliates in the interior. Ford Motors, International Harvester, and Studebaker followed the same procedure.<sup>46</sup>

While Sevier worked in Argentina, his superiors at home lost no opportunity to express their appreciation for any sign of good will from that region. One instance of that spirit occurred with respect to the Buenos Aires magazine *Caras y Caretas*. In its special Fourth of July issue, that periodical devoted almost its entire space to articles and pictures dealing with the United States. When this number of the periodical was called to Creel's attention, the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information wrote: ". . . This war will have been fought in vain, so far as we are concerned, if the precious blood of free men, fighting for freedom, does not wash away all the bitterness and misunderstanding of the past, permitting the liberal nations of the world to stand together in friendship and unity seeing eye to eye. . . . Your article proves that understanding is on the way." Creel concluded his letter with the statement that it had been his effort to meet lies with the truth "and to promote the understanding that is necessarily the heart of agreement."<sup>47</sup> Chile, also a recipient of Sevier's publicity activities, expressed interest in additional information from the northern republic. According to one of our representatives there the press looked toward this country for constructive and intelligent data on general matters. As a result, the Committee on Public Information heeded the request for recent material on the following subjects: organization of American universities, policing American cities, development of highways, operation

<sup>46</sup> Sevier correspondence. CPI 24-A1.

<sup>47</sup> Creel to editor, Washington, Aug. 15, 1918. CPI 1-A1(2) Folder: "Hon. John Barrett."



of departments of public health, and forest protection.<sup>48</sup> Chileans were much more interested in information about America itself than about some phases of our war effort. For that reason, our representative in their country requested the New York headquarters to stop sending stories of individual exploits on the American battle front.<sup>49</sup>

Turning to Brazil, one finds, with the exception of the news cable despatches, the work of the Creel committee was performed by the American embassy. The cable service was handled by the Havas Agency, which distributed it to all the newspapers in Rio de Janeiro, and papers in the cities of Bahia, Pernambuco, Pará, and São Paulo, as well as in the states of Pará, and Rio Grande do Sul.<sup>50</sup> Practically all other publicity materials and channels, already noted with respect to the countries previously mentioned, were utilized by Ambassador Morgan and his staff.

In this effort there occurred one note of variety. Instead of having Joseph Pennell's litographs of American war work appear in Brazilian magazines, they were utilized for window displays.<sup>51</sup>

In Peru, the Creel committee entrusted its publicity to a man who had had earlier experience in that field. As early as 1916, C. N. Griffis, at the request of the British Patriotic League, had undertaken such work to counteract the rising current of German propaganda in Peru.<sup>52</sup> Griffis, as did all the others, adapted his material to the countries he served. For that reason, he had to warn his superiors that periodical literature was not so important in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. He pointed out that in Lima, alone, in the past five years, he had seen anywhere between fifty and one hundred publications

<sup>48</sup> Preciado to Sisson, Santiago, Aug. 19, 1918. CPI 17-A2(3) Folder: "Chile."

<sup>49</sup> Poole to Sisson, New York, Oct. 1, 1918. CPI 17-A1(19) Folder: "Poole Reports September-October."

<sup>50</sup> Ackerman to Rogers, New York, Sept. 18, 1918. CPI 17-A2(13) Folder: "Brazil Rio de Janeiro Cables Ambassador Morgan."

<sup>51</sup> Morgan to Kennaday, Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 20, 1918. CPI 17-A2(13) Folder: "Morgan Rio de Janeiro Corres. Ambassador."

<sup>52</sup> Griffis to Creel, Lima, Feb. 19, 1918. CPI 17-A2(7) Folder: "Griffis-Lima Peru Corres."

of various kinds started with great éclat, only to last a few weeks or months at most.<sup>53</sup> For the newspapers, he arranged a two-hundred-word daily cable service that was designed to reach Lima by six o'clock every afternoon.<sup>54</sup>

Although the photographic displays attracted great attention, it was not long before Griffis had to ask for types of pictures to suit his patrons. In addition to such displays in the cities and towns, he cabled that he was reaching an audience of approximately twenty thousand in the mining and industrial centers on a bulletin board circuit.<sup>55</sup> All those places, however, required photographs showing the industrial power of the United States. Griffis declared that steel mills, munition factories, convoys of motor trucks, skyscrapers, and especially shipbuilding, ships and yards, would make a far greater impression there than photographs from the front. The reason was that for the three previous years the public in those countries had been deluged with British and French war pictures.<sup>56</sup>

Griffis objected to another class of photographs for use on the boards, but he found a place for it. He wrote that he scarcely approved of photos of actresses being placed on the boards—beside views of our war efforts—but that such photos could be handed over to three or four illustrated papers in Lima. Griffis observed that they “will eagerly publish anything sensational or bizarre in the theatrical line, and this material may well act as a sugar-plum in securing the publication of more substantial and informative material.”<sup>57</sup> In addition to Griffis, the Committee on Public Information’s work was aided by the American legation in Peru. All news telegrams sent by the Creel organization from New York or Washington, and delivered to the legation, were immediately translated and then published by all papers. This was done without cost to Creel.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, July 10, 1918.

<sup>54</sup> Brainard to Rogers, Washington, Sept. 7, 1918. CPI 17-A2(7) Folder: “Griffis-Cables-Lima Peru.”

<sup>55</sup> Griffis to Rickey, Lima, Jan. 17, 1919. *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Griffis to Irwin, Lima, May 23, 1918. CPI 17-A2(7) Folder: “Griffis-Lima Peru-Corres.”

<sup>57</sup> Griffis to Kennaday, Lima, Sept. 5, 1918. *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> American legation to the Secretary of State, Lima, Feb. 27, 1919. CPI 17-A2(7) Folder: “Griffis-Cables Lima Peru.”

For Central America and northern South America, the same general kinds of publicity material were used, but there were some differences in technique. One of those occurred with respect to Colombia, due to a peculiarity in the geographical conditions there. The metropolitan papers of greatest political importance were published in Bogotá, and their prevailing tone, before the Creel organization undertook its service, was cold and neutral. That information service, however, reached the provincial papers several weeks before it got to Bogotá, and the interior papers seized it, and used it immediately. Verner stated that as a result of this earlier publication there drifted up to Bogotá a mass of pro-Ally sentiment published in the interior papers at about the same time as the Creel service reached Bogotá, and in many instances, even before. Newspapers in that city paid attention, for they did not realize fully the source of the pro-Ally news. It seemed to the Bogotá editors as though a veritable wave of anti-German sentiment was sweeping the country. Verner added, "Some of the Bogota papers thereupon promptly came out on our side, and have been with us ever since."<sup>59</sup> Verner took no credit for originating this technique. He had borrowed it from United States Senator Benjamin R. Tillman who went into the country districts of South Carolina, and created a political sentiment which "swayed the large cities and the capital off their feet when it reached them."<sup>60</sup>

All these men throughout Latin America could have accomplished little without the support and coöperation of the Creel organization in New York and Washington. Guided by requests and suggestions from men in the various countries, the Committee on Public Information furnished material to meet the statements of German propaganda, and in general, to give a clear and comprehensive idea of the gigantic work and high purpose of this nation in the war.<sup>61</sup> To make certain that it was not wasting time, effort, and money in its publicity material the Foreign Press bureau sent

<sup>59</sup> Memorandum, Cristobal, C. Z., May 15, 1919. CPI 17-A2(23) Folder: "Verner Reports."

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Poole to Sisson, New York, Dec. 30, 1918. CPI 17-A1(19) Folder: "Poole-December Report."



the commissioners questionnaires to be answered for the guidance of the bureau. Those forms asked, among other items, whether the material was sent in convenient form, what was and what was not used, whether the articles were of the right length and content, what kinds of papers published the service, and whether the material was given out free. In addition, the bureau wanted to know of each agent what particulars of the situation in the country where he was stationed should be kept in mind in the preparation of material.<sup>62</sup>

Another section of the New York office, however, was especially concerned with publicity channels and publicity for the nations south of us. This was the division known as the Bureau of Latin-American Affairs, with Edward L. Bernays and Lieutenant F. E. Ackerman playing possibly the leading roles. That organization appealed especially to American firms doing business in Latin America, and secured their co-operation.<sup>63</sup> In addition to means already cited, this section utilized various kinds of educators, especially as a medium of distributing pamphlets.<sup>64</sup>

As the war showed signs of coming to an end, the New York units of the Foreign Section commenced to change the emphasis of their material. They began to stress more and more the war and peace aims of President Wilson. This was done in response to information from foreign countries to the effect that the German propaganda against us was changing. No longer did the Teuton claim that we did not count in the war; the German agents began to center on the idea that with our boundless wealth, our enormous merchant fleet and military forces, we were out to conquer the world—if not in a military sense, at least in a commercial one—so that at the end we should be left rich while the rest of the world was poor, and that we would press that advantage to enrich ourselves further. This propaganda was to be met by the clearly expressed views of President Wilson, and through supporting

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Bernays' Report, Nov. 1, 1918. CPI 17-A1(19) Folder: "Poole Reports Sept. Oct."

<sup>64</sup> Bernays' Report, Oct. 1, 1918. *Ibid.*

comments from editors in the press, from well-known individual Americans, and from all kinds of organizations and groups passing resolutions with respect to our aims.<sup>65</sup>

Such a change in emphasis was complete when the Armistice came. The commissioners were told to continue their work of news distribution throughout the period of the peace conference. Their service was to be the means of interpreting the views of the United States at that conference.<sup>66</sup>

That work was not to be, however. In January, 1919, orders went out to most of the commissioners to discontinue their activities at once. The most important cable service was to be transmitted to our embassies and legations.<sup>67</sup>

With that exception, however, our publicity ceased in Latin America in spite of all the urging that it be continued. In May, 1919, Verner urged its continuance and pointed out that the German propaganda in South America was flourishing again.<sup>68</sup> And as our publicity vanished, our indifference increased. Little or no attention was paid to the word from our representatives in Latin America that, at a time when the European markets were cut off from that part of the world, and at a time most auspicious for introducing new American lines to take the place of European merchandise, "we are commercially inactive in establishing connections and introducing our products."<sup>69</sup>

While trade was so vital to understanding, one of our agents in the Canal Zone held that the Creel committee type of publicity was even more important. He held that the sums our government spent each year in sending out agents to report on trade opportunities were ill spent compared with a smaller amount that would be necessary to provide as good a brief news service as he was then conducting. The repre-

<sup>65</sup> Poole to Sisson, New York, Sept. 1, 1918. CPI 17-A1(19) Folder: "Poole Reports August."

<sup>66</sup> Sisson to Murray, Washington, Nov. 5, 1918. CPI 17-A2(14) Folder: "Murray-Cables-Nov.-Dec.-Jan."

<sup>67</sup> Rickey to Sevier, Washington, Jan. 21, 1919. CPI 24-A2. Folder: "Telegrams."

<sup>68</sup> Verner to Creel, Cristobal, May 21, 1919. CPI 17-A2(23) Folder: "Verner Reports."

<sup>69</sup> Gamon to the Secretary of State, Acapulco, Mexico, Oct. 24, 1918. CPI 17-A2(14) Folder: "Murray Corres December."

sentative observed, “. . . the psychological reaction of the American date line on news of interest to Latin America is remarkably great,” and that its effect would be to show the proximity of New York, Chicago, and San Francisco to the various countries of Latin America.<sup>70</sup>

Of all the reasons given for continuing our publicity in Latin America, however, Ernest Poole presented most of them. He stated that if we were entering an era of more and more open diplomacy, in order to make the policies of this government understood abroad, we would have to use the legitimate methods of publicity to reach widely the great masses of people in other countries with the significant facts about the life and purposes of this nation. And to present such facts widely, Poole believed we needed men trained especially in reaching the large public by their presentation in popular form.<sup>71</sup> He urged a cable and a mail service from the United States reaching out all over the world. The former was to be used to get our ideas and policies with regard to internationally momentous problems before the rest of the world as quickly as possible. The mail service was to supplement and to expand the ideas mentioned in the cablegrams. In addition, it would be used to disseminate articles dealing with significant aspects of our life and growth.

Poole stressed two other vital factors. He stated that to gain abroad agreement with our foreign policies we would have to gain the good will of the world, and arouse a friendly interest in all aspects of life and work in the United States. For that part of the publicity effort he was convinced that we should need a large film service in addition to our other types of educational activity abroad. He was certain that every succeeding year the medium of films would be used more and more to reach the hundreds of millions of people for whom the moving picture made a much stronger appeal than did the written word. The second factor was that of personnel. Poole was convinced that there would be needed

<sup>70</sup> Collins to Elliott, Ancon, C. Z., Nov. 14, 1918. CPI 17-A2(5) Folder: “Collins John O.”

<sup>71</sup> Poole to Creel, New York, Nov. 15, 1918. CPI 17-A1(19) Folder: “Poole December Reports.”



in each foreign country men able to select wisely from the cable and written materials sent them, and to translate it into the vernacular—men thoroughly familiar with the means of distribution in that country through the daily press, the weekly and monthly periodicals, technical journals, window display photographs, lectures, film theaters, and the other channels of idea communication.<sup>72</sup>

That these suggestions were not heeded by the Creel committee, was through no fault of that organization itself. Congress failed to grant it any appropriation for the fiscal year of 1920, and thus the Committee on Public Information was forced to suspend operations. With its passing, our government had no official channel possessing a high publicity sense devoted solely to enlightening the rest of the world as to our aims and ideals in time of peace. It required more than twenty years, and a threat to the security of the entire Western Hemisphere, a threat greater than that of Prussianism, of kultur, and of the Junker, to cause our nation to create another publicity organization to perform the mission the Committee on Public Information, with no precedent to guide it, performed so ably.

JAMES R. MOCK.

Bureau of Labor Statistics.

<sup>72</sup> Poole to Creel, New York, Nov. 15, 1918. CPI 17-A1(19) Folder: "Poole December Reports."

## IMMIGRATION IN CUBA

From the earliest days of the conquest there was a general feeling among Spaniards that it was desirable to populate the colonies with whites, provided always that they were from the right place and professed the correct religious sentiments. Restrictive laws against undesirables were more numerous, however, than those designed to encourage white settlement. Consequently, a large percentage of the whites that entered the colonies did so clandestinely. This was especially true of the Canary Islanders who formed a larger group of settlers in Cuba during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than any other type.<sup>1</sup> A few persons, however, received the necessary royal permission to enter the colonies, and the experience of one such group led to the first legislation on the subject which is treated in this article.

Toward the close of the seventeenth century about one hundred families migrated from the Canary Islands to Santo Domingo. Their hardships were reported by the governor of the latter (on February 12, 1684 and March 14, 1686) and a request was made for royal assistance for the immigrants. The result was a *cédula* commanding that "families from the Canary Islands arriving in Cuba and Puerto Rico be given land in locations that were not prejudicial to their health."<sup>2</sup> Why any reference to Santo Domingo was omitted does not appear.

Nevertheless, there was no grand rush to Cuba and Puerto Rico after the new legislation. Some thirty families founded the town of Matanzas in 1693,<sup>3</sup> but most of the immigrants were men without families. Not until the disasters of the Seven Years' War shook the Spanish empire were any real

<sup>1</sup> This is the impression one receives from an examination of the marriage and baptismal records in the Archivo de la Catedral de la Habana. See also Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros esclavos* (Habana, 1916), pp. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> José María Zamora, *Biblioteca de legislación ultramarina* (7 vols., Madrid, 1844-1849), II, 234-235. The *cédula* was dated April 11, 1788.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 226.

colonization projects brought forward. The first of such was a settlement of East Floridians at a place called Ceiba Mocha in the jurisdiction of Matanzas, in 1764. About one hundred families were given farms of one *caballería*<sup>4</sup> each, a loan of money sufficient to buy a slave, and sixty pesos for tools and other expenses.<sup>5</sup> This colony, however, grew out of necessity and not of policy, as is shown by the attitude of the government toward other projects brought forward by private individuals.

In 1769 a Frenchman named Le Nègre de Mondragón presented a plan for introducing twelve thousand whites and an equal number of slaves into Santo Domingo over a period of twelve years. The whites were to be German, Flemish, Swiss and Italian Catholics. The king, upon the advice of the Council of the Indies, denied the petition on the ground that foreigners were not wanted in the colonies.<sup>6</sup>

Another petition was made in 1776 for a grant of land on Nipe Bay in eastern Cuba. The colonists were to be Spaniards, Creoles, Canary Islanders, Indians and Negroes brought by a Spanish company. The Negroes were to be slaves imported free of duty. The category of the Indians is not clear. Although foreign whites were not included in the list of prospective colonists, this petition fared no better than the one mentioned above.<sup>7</sup> Nipe Bay waited another century for settlement.

Meanwhile, slave importations into Cuba were increasing, notwithstanding the fact that the number of slaves arriving was not equal to the demand. During most of the time that the slave trade with her colonies was legal, Spain depended on contracts with countries, companies or individuals to supply the Negroes. The last contract—one of two years' dura-

<sup>4</sup> A *caballería* was then about thirty-two acres. It is customary now in Cuba to reckon three *caballerías* to a hundred acres.

<sup>5</sup> Archivo Nacional de Cuba (hereinafter cited as A.N.C.), Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3. The history of this colony is summarized in a paper by the writer which was read before the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science on May 20, 1941.

<sup>6</sup> José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo y especial de los países Américo-hispanos* (3rd edition, in Colección de libros cubanos, XXXVII-XL, Habana, 1938), III, 33, 226.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 239-240 and III, 220-227.



tion—was made in 1786 with the English firm of Baker and Dawson. An effort at renewal was fruitless for the demand was so great that the planters and business men of Cuba were clamoring for free importation of slaves. Francisco de Arango y Parreño, already in Spain as the agent of the municipality of Habana, supported his fellow-countrymen and secured a *cédula* (February 28, 1789) opening the slave trade of Cuba to all persons, Spanish or foreign, for a period of two years, on the payment of an insignificant duty.

Still in Spain at the expiration of the *cédula*, Arango, acting on instructions from home, succeeded in obtaining a renewal for two years. This was early in 1791. In November came the disconcerting news that the Negroes in Haiti had risen in revolt and were massacring the whites. The Spanish government, foreseeing the same danger for Cuba, took steps to stop the trade altogether. Fearful of losing the hard-won privilege of unlimited importation, Arango essayed the difficult task of disproving the danger with the argument that instead of a sprinkling of whites in a sea of blacks, as in Saint Domingue, Cuba had nearly as many whites as Negroes; hence, there was no cause for alarm. Convinced by this reasoning, the Madrid government "issued with all confidence" another *cédula* which amplified the former permit.<sup>8</sup>

Arango's confidence, however, seems to have wavered, for scarcely two months after he secured the renewal of free importation, he submitted to the king a plan for developing Cuban agriculture which contained a significant paragraph entitled: "Causes of the scarcity of white population. The utility of promoting white immigration to restrain the Negroes. Means of obtaining it." The scarcity of villages, "which if located in convenient places would be a powerful check on the seditious ideas of rural slaves," was the burden of his message. He proposed a *junta de agricultura* to handle the matter, and suggested the policing of rural districts and making country life more attractive.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1-18, 220-282. The last-mentioned *cédula* was dated November 21, 1791; the preceding one February 20.

<sup>9</sup> Francisco de Arango y Parreño, *Obras* (2 vols., Habana, 1888), I, 97-100. Arango's plan was proposed on January 14, 1792.

Cuba was then governed by Don Luís de las Casas, who was at one with Arango's views on colonization. Before the proposal of the *junta de agricultura*, Las Casas had begun the program outlined for the new corporation. In his work, as in the writings of Arango, slave importation and white immigration are linked together. On the one hand, he promoted the organization of a company to receive slaves which had been disembarked in Habana and, on the other, strove to encourage the settlement of families from the Canary Islands on land donated by the government. The number of white settlers that came was disappointing, but it did not balk the plan of Las Casas for establishing new towns in unpopulated parts of the island. To him Pezuela attributed the founding of more than half the towns existing in Cuba in 1868. Some of these towns were populated by colonists from more thickly inhabited areas<sup>10</sup> of Cuba, for petitions to the home government for permission to bring in settlers were denied.<sup>11</sup>

More important for the future of white immigration than the immediate efforts of Don Luís de las Casas was the establishment during his administration of two corporations—the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País and the Real Consulado de Agricultura y Comercio—in 1793 and 1794 respectively. The latter was a modified form of the *junta de agricultura* which Arango had recommended. Similar in their functions, and duplicating their membership in many cases, the two organizations usually worked hand in hand. The first to act on the question of white immigration was the Sociedad Económica. Soon after its establishment a committee was appointed to study measures for developing the eastern part of the island. A report of this committee included this paragraph:

Before the calamitous ruin of the Colony of Saint Domingue, and before the horrible destruction and unheard-of crimes committed there by the Negroes were known, the first thing that came to mind when

<sup>10</sup> Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Historia de la isla de Cuba* (4 vols., Madrid, 1868-1878), III, 265-266.

<sup>11</sup> Felix Erenchun, *Anales de la isla de Cuba* (7 vols., Habana, 1856-1861), 1855, pp. 1033-1035.

the development of our Island was discussed was the free and unlimited introduction of Negroes. This was the conclusion reached from the great prosperity enjoyed by that unfortunate Colony—prosperity which was due entirely to the multitude of slaves that cultivated its soil. Now, however, experience has shown that, although for the general development of the Island the introduction of slaves should be favored, it is necessary to proceed carefully with the census figures in hand, in order that the number of Negroes may not only be prevented from exceeding that of the whites, but that it may not be permitted to equal that number.<sup>12</sup>

At the time this was written the Consulado existed only on paper, for although the *cédula* providing for its creation was signed on April 4, 1794, the first session was not held until April of the following year. Even then the members were slow to take up the question of white immigration. In fact, the minutes of the corporation show that, while they trembled for fear of slave revolts, they were more interested in increasing their human chattels than in promoting the entry of whites. Two cases will illustrate the trend of their thoughts.

Serious consideration was given to a proposition by Philip Allwood to introduce even more Negroes than were coming under the free importation privileges.<sup>13</sup> The proposition was finally rejected, but after long discussion the following recommendations were adopted to encourage plantation owners to buy female slaves: (1) to remove the sales tax on female slaves and retain it on males; (2) to oblige owners of female slaves to sell them to the owners of their husbands; and (3) to recommend "to his Majesty the merit of persons who distinguish themselves by settling Negroes on their plantations, taking into consideration the number of married couples and the increase obtained from them."<sup>14</sup>

Not until 1796 did the Consulado take up the question of promoting white immigration, and then only because a serious slave revolt emphasized the danger that threatened. The

<sup>12</sup> *Memorias de la sociedad económica*, 1794, pp. 54-55. The report was made on November 5, 1794.

<sup>13</sup> A.N.C., Junta de Fomento, libro 161, p. 16. The proposition was discussed on July 8, 1795.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.



debate that took place is interesting. The Marqués de Casa Peñalver, after stating his misgivings, suggested that an equilibrium be maintained between whites and blacks by limiting the introduction of Negroes, and by importing whites. For the latter he suggested Canary Islanders and Indians from New Spain.<sup>15</sup> A half century later both Indians and Chinese were imported as "white colonists"!

Arango took issue with the Marqués and read a paper he had prepared four years earlier to quiet the fears of the Spanish government, to which he added some new observations. England and Jamaica, he said, had been frightened on hearing of the revolts in Haiti, but closer examination of the situation dissipated their fears. Cuba was in even less danger than Jamaica because its large white population would prevent any such results as those of the neighboring island. He was supported by Nicolás Calvo, who added that the revolts in Haiti were successful only because of the revolution in France itself, and because of discord sowed by traitors.

Las Casas wanted to encourage Canary Islanders to bring their wives, but his efforts toward obtaining an appropriation for that purpose had been unsuccessful. As to the Indians, he was sure the home government would not agree to their importation. At the mention of Indians, Casa Peñalver declared himself ready to pay two reales per day wages and the passage of such laborers, if contracted to work for five years. Las Casas thought that the corporation should restrict its activities to promoting white immigration—not because he feared slave revolts, but because it had always been his policy to encourage the settlement of the island by white families.

The other members of the Consulado, although not exactly enthusiastic, favored encouraging white immigration, but were also emphatic in asking that the slave trade be promoted. The

<sup>15</sup> Casa Peñalver's idea about Indians may have sprung from the following announcement in the *Papel periódico de la Havana* for November 21, 1790: "In the King's Frigate Venus, which arrived on Thursday from Vera Cruz, have come six Meca Indian girls who will be placed under the care of persons of their sex who are proper persons to instruct them in Religion, which persons may have the advantage of their services. Those who wish to contribute to this pious work should apply to the Governor and Captain General, and they will receive the girls on the condition that they give a receipt for them and assume the obligation to report to the said Superior authority in case the girls die or run away."

discussion was closed by Arango's suggestion that severe police regulations be adopted to prevent slave uprisings, and that measures be taken to encourage white immigration. Both motions were carried and a committee was appointed to execute the latter,<sup>16</sup> while the former was a matter for the captain general's decision.

The report of this committee is indicative of opinion then prevailing among planters:

But the first precaution to be taken is without doubt the promotion with prudence and discernment of white colonization in the rural districts. . . . We see that almost all free persons live near the towns, and that the Negro slaves and a handful of whites are the ones that produce the wealth of the colony. It is necessary, therefore, for the Government to take an interest in remedying this evil, which to an agricultural country depending on slavery is of the utmost importance.

The remedy, according to the committee, consisted of establishing churches surrounded by twenty or more families, at convenient points in the rural districts. To encourage settlements at these places, donations of free lots for homes exempt from sales taxes for ten years was suggested.<sup>17</sup>

For the next twenty years only occasional mention was made of this subject. Half a century later José Antonio Saco lamented it in these terms:

The Cubans, allured by the extraordinary prices of sugar and coffee in the markets of Europe (due to the disaster in Haiti), multiplied their plantations. And, although they should have been restrained, or more circumspect in view of the bloody catastrophe in the neighboring island, the prosperity of the moment blinded them to the dangers of the future. What a misfortune that the good patricians of that epoch did not ask for the abolition of the slave trade, and clamor energetically for the importation of white colonists! Had they promoted so great a good, the present generation would bless their names, and adore them as the saviors of the country. But even in the midst of the terrors instilled in them by the destruction of Saint Domingue, they still longed for negroes, believing that without them there could be no prosperity for Cuba.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> A.N.C., Junta de Fomento, libro 161, pp. 144-145.

<sup>17</sup> Erenchun, *op. cit.*, 1855, pp. 1033-1035.

<sup>18</sup> Saco, *op. cit.*, III, 29.

For some time the troubles in the neighboring island promised to populate Cuba with whites. First from Haiti, and later from Santo Domingo, came thousands of refugees fleeing the vengeance of the blacks. For over a decade both French and Spanish refugees were permitted to land, and the former soon had the eastern part of Cuba blossoming with coffee flowers on extensive plantations. Toward the end of 1807, however, Charles IV, fearful of the designs of Napoleon, ordered all foreigners to be expelled. The order was not strictly enforced at first, but a break with France soon necessitated more decisive action. Even then the expulsion of unnaturalized Frenchmen was carried out with moderation until riots between French and Spanish broke out in Habana in March, 1809. After that it continued more rapidly. The number of naturalized Frenchmen was large, however, and their descendents have played prominent rôles in the history of the island. French blood and names are still easily traced.<sup>19</sup>

The expulsion of the French was scarcely completed when news from Spain of the proposal of the Cortes to abolish not only the slave trade but slavery itself brought forth a wave of protest from all important organizations and individuals in Habana. As spokesman for them, Arango, while condemning the slave trade, maintained that caution and long study should mark its termination. The gradual abolition of the trade by England and the United States was cited as a good example to follow. Those countries had not acted until they had plenty of slaves. Cuba did not have sufficient labor, and since less than one third of its slaves were females, reproduction could not supply the need. He even deplored slavery itself, but treated it as a necessary evil, lamenting the failure of previous governments to permit the introduction of foreign whites. On the last point he protested: "We tolerate, and have always tolerated the entry of Negro infidels, many of whom die infidels, but we cannot suffer the entry of white Catholics unless they be Spaniards."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Pezuela, *op. cit.*, III, 345, 392-400; José Antonio Portuondo, *La inmigración francesa* (published as an appendix to *Proceso de la cultura cubana*, Habana, 1938), pp. 71-85.

<sup>20</sup> Arango, *Obras*, II, 215-217; Saco, *op. cit.*, III, 91-103.



Although the abolition of the trade, and of slavery was mentioned occasionally in the Cortes between 1810 and 1814, no real danger to its existence arose from that source.

The terror of the slaveholders was renewed by the discovery of a plot in which a free Negro, José Antonio Aponte, figured. The leaders were executed but the desire of the slaveholders for gain was not purged. They were led, however, to support measures for providing a counterweight to the colored element under the guidance of no less an intellect than Alejandro Ramírez.<sup>21</sup>

This gentleman was promoted to the *superintendencia de real hacienda* in Cuba after a distinguished career in Guatemala and Puerto Rico.<sup>22</sup> As intendant of Puerto Rico he obtained, with the assistance of Ramón Power, the *Cédula de gracias* of August 10, 1815, which opened the ports of that island to foreign commerce and gave special encouragement to white immigrants. Foreigners of the Catholic faith willing to take the oath of allegiance to Spain were allowed four and two-sevenths *fanegas*<sup>23</sup> of land for each member of the family, and half as much for each slave imported. They were exempt from all taxes for fifteen years and from poll taxes forever.<sup>24</sup> Although the land grants were negligible, the tax exemptions were not to be held in contempt. Most significant was the fact that the *cédula* marked a radical departure from Spain's age-old policy of exclusion.<sup>25</sup>

Ramírez was scarcely settled in Habana, where he arrived in July, 1815, in company with the new captain general, José Cienfuegos, when he began agitating for white colonization. His former experiences had schooled him in the knack of co-operation with other administrative officers. It is not surprising, therefore, that by September 12, 1815, he had succeeded in organizing the *Junta de Población Blanca*.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Pezuela, *op. cit.*, III, 427-429; *Boletín del archivo nacional*, VIII, 123-135.

<sup>22</sup> Zamora, *op. cit.*, III, 619-620.

<sup>23</sup> A *fanega* was equivalent to about 1.59 acres.

<sup>24</sup> Zamora, *op. cit.*, II, 234-239.

<sup>25</sup> The encouragement given to Americans to settle in Louisiana after 1788 was from necessity and not from policy. See D. C. and Roberta Corbitt (eds.), "Papers from Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest," East Tennessee Historical Society Publications, 1937-1941.

<sup>26</sup> A.N.C., Junta de Fomento, libro 205.

The new *junta* (most of whose members were drawn from the older organizations) was independent of the Consulado and the Sociedad Económica but, under the leadership of Ramírez, the three worked toward the same end. These, together with the *Ayuntamiento* of Habana, petitioned the king for a grant of the same privileges as those enjoyed by Puerto Rico under the *cédula de gracias*. Representations on the subject were sent to the Crown by Ramírez and Captain General Cienfuegos.<sup>27</sup> The result was the *cédulas* of October 21, 1817, and February 10, 1818, treating white colonization, were issued. The first was almost a verbatim copy of the sections on immigration in the grant to Puerto Rico. It differed only in the amount of land to be given to the settlers, since a specific acreage was not mentioned. The captain general and the intendant were instructed to "practice what was convenient." Attention was called especially to the eastern part of Cuba where *realengos*, or royal lands, were more abundant,<sup>28</sup> and where there was "more urgent necessity for increasing the number of honorable white colonists." Ramírez and Cienfuegos were designated to select a committee of three persons to assist them in deciding on the "urgent and judicious measures to be taken." Among these were the promotion of matrimony among the settlers and, since Spanish subjects were preferable, steps to attract immigrants from the Peninsula and from the Balearic and Canary Islands.<sup>29</sup>

But white colonization was destined to be wedded to the slave question. On September 23, 1817, Spain and England had entered into a treaty for the termination of the slave trade. On January 13 of the next year, however, José Pizarro, the negotiating minister, sent to the colonies secret instructions which read:

In order to avoid violence by the English, and to provide for the future increase of the Negro race, you will take particular care that those who fit out expeditions to Africa, and the ships that are used

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, libro 170, p. 215; Zamora, *op. cit.*, II, 244.

<sup>28</sup> See D. C. Corbitt, "Mercedes and Realengos: A Survey of the Public Land System in Cuba," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX (1939), 262-285.

<sup>29</sup> Zamora, *op. cit.*, II, 244-248; *Boletín del archivo nacional* (January-December, 1923), pp. 112-113.

be Spanish, and that at least one-third of the cargo be females, to the end that, by propagating the species, the abolition of the trade may be less noticeable in the future.<sup>30</sup>

In view of this advice and of the problem of financing white colonization, Ramírez and Cienfuegos dealt with both matters in a joint disposition of February 7, 1818, which provided for a tax of six pesos on every male slave introduced into Cuba within the next three years when the treaty should go into effect, the proceeds to be placed at the disposal of the *Junta de Población Blanca*. Female slaves were exempt from all duties.<sup>31</sup> Since more than fifty-six thousand slaves were landed in Havana between 1818 and 1821,<sup>32</sup> it is needless to say that the *Junta* had full coffers.

Regulations for incoming settlers included provisions for transportation, lodging, hospital care, and three reales per day for three months for adults arriving within four years. Minors were to be given the same care and half the allowance. For the protection of their health the immigrants were sent, upon arrival, to Guanabacoa, Güines, Matanzas or Guanajay away from the less hygienic capital.<sup>33</sup>

The first, and by far the most important colony, founded under the auspices of Cienfuegos and Ramírez, was that established on Jagua Bay, named afterwards for the former, and now one of the most important cities of Cuba with a population of about 40,000. Luís de Clouet<sup>34</sup> made a contract with the government for one hundred *caballerías* of land to be distributed among forty families that he was to bring to the island. Every family was to receive one *caballería* for each member over eighteen, for which, after two years, one hundred pesos were to be paid, plus four annual payments of

<sup>30</sup> Pezuela, *op. cit.*, IV, 49-50.

<sup>31</sup> Zamora, *op. cit.*, II, 250; *Boletín del archivo nacional*, XXII, 125-126. It is of interest to note that on April 25, 1818, Portugal levied a tax of 12 pesos 2 reales on all slaves introduced into Brazil, the proceeds to go for promoting white immigration.

<sup>32</sup> Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico de la isla de Cuba* (4 vols., Habana, 1863-1864), II, 284.

<sup>33</sup> *Boletín del archivo nacional*, XXII, 119-121.

<sup>34</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Luís de Clouet was a native of Louisiana, but more recently attached to the general staff in Habana.



twenty-five pesos and ten more of fifty. Clouet's remuneration was thirty pesos for each adult and fifteen for each minor. In case the immigrants were brought from Europe the transportation allowance was to be doubled. During the first two years each one over ten years of age was to receive the navy ration allowance of three and one-half reales per day; others, a half ration. By 1823 some 845 white settlers had arrived in the colony, proceeding from Bordeaux, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Santo Domingo, Louisiana and other places.<sup>35</sup> The growth thereafter was slow but steady.

For his services Clouet was also to receive the *gracias y mercedes* granted by the laws of the Indies to the founders of new towns. These included civil and criminal jurisdiction over the colony during his lifetime, and the right to appoint municipal officers, these privileges to be passed on to one generation of heirs at his decease. Other advantages, although not listed as such, included the right to introduce slaves, agricultural implements, and provisions for the colony free of duty, and other articles on the payment of half the regular duties. Ration allowances were paid to the colonists through Clouet.<sup>36</sup>

Another colony was planted in the province of Santa Clara where the *Junta de Población Blanca* had purchased 488 *caballerías* (about 15,000 acres) of land on a plantation named "Santo Domingo" at the bargain price of 15,000 pesos. Distribution was made on terms similar to those of Cienfuegos but rapid growth did not follow. As late as 1828 its population was only four hundred and seventy-two.<sup>37</sup> Less encouraging, however, was the colony on Guantánamo Bay (where "one thousand *caballerías* or thirty-two thousand *acres de los Estados Unidos*" were set aside from the *realengos*) which, during the life of Ramírez, was little more than a custom-house that he established there. A similar case was that of Mariel some thirty miles west of Habana in what is now Pinar

<sup>35</sup> Enrique Edo y Llop, *Memoria histórica de Cienfuegos y su jurisdicción* (2d. ed., Habana, 1888), pp. 25-69; Pezuela, *Historia*, IV, 56-57; Zamora, *op. cit.*, IV, 1-2.

<sup>36</sup> The contract is printed in *Boletín del archivo nacional*, XXII, 132-136.

<sup>37</sup> *Boletín del archivo nacional*, XXII, 165-171.

del Río Province. Nuevitas in the Camagüey area developed more rapidly under a plan resembling that of the first two.<sup>38</sup>

The development of all the new settlements, and of Cuba as a whole, was seriously handicapped by the anomalous land system of the island, which had its origin in the "circular" grants made by the municipalities in the sixteenth century. Over a period of about two hundred years a large part of the island, measured off in circles of one or two leagues radius, was granted in usufruct. Careless location of centers, and the consequent overlapping of boundaries, led to litigations that three centuries of legislation have failed to solve. Furthermore, the grants were to pass in joint ownership to the heirs of the original holders. The experience of the *Junta de Población Blanca* with its colony at Santo Domingo illustrates the confusion that reigned. It was believed at the time of the purchase in 1818 to consist of 488 *caballerías*, but a survey made after many lawsuits in 1832, revealed only 266. Furthermore, several settlers had been granted land that did not belong to the government, for which it was necessary to indemnify the rightful owners.<sup>39</sup>

An event of disastrous effect on the white colonization movement was the restoration of the Constitution of 1812 in 1820. Matters were temporarily taken out of the hands of the *Junta de Población Blanca* and given to the *Diputaciones Provinciales* which, occupied with the newly organized municipalities, had little time for anything else, and before the *Junta* regained power in 1823, Ramírez, its moving spirit, was dead. White colonization languished for a generation, until another force and another motive drew attention to the problem.

The Peninsular government took note of the situation and in April of 1827 manifested to the members of the *Junta* the advisability of levying a small duty on some exports for the purpose of securing funds. Five years later there was proposed a four per cent tax on court costs which netted, between 1833 and 1842, over 340,000 pesos.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 146-171.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 169. See Corbitt, "Mercedes and Bealengos," for a discussion of the land problem.

<sup>40</sup> *Boletín del archivo nacional*, XXII, 124; Zamora, *op. cit.*, I, 94, and II, 250.

Increased funds led to little activity on the part of the *Junta*, however. An anonymous contemporary characterized the situation thus:

A serious charge against the colonial authorities is that of having neglected white immigration since the death of the prudent and able Intendant don Alejandro Ramírez, for although in the time of that virtuous functionary a *Junta protectora de población* of our race was formed, years and more years have passed without its members having met. The funds, which by Royal decree of September 17, 1817 were decreed to promote the increase of the said population, and those that are derived from a tax on court costs, have been diverted to ends other than those specified, and no advantage whatever has been obtained from the privileges and exemptions granted to new settlers by the said Royal *Cédula*. On the contrary, instead of an increase in the white population, that of the negroes has grown in the district then chosen as the site of the new colony: namely Cienfuegos.<sup>41</sup>

In justice to the *Junta* its part in the founding of a colony in the Isle of Pines should be mentioned. As early as 1778, agitation for a colony there was begun by a planter, but no action was taken for half a century. Under definite instructions from Spain the government of Cuba set aside ten *caballerías* of land near the village of Nueva Gerona for distribution as free building lots. Andrés de Acosta donated half a square league and the government purchased a large plantation for distribution as farms which were to be rent free for ten years. After that period they were to be paid for at the rate of one hundred pesos per *caballería*. The number of settlers was small. A few political and military prisoners became acquainted with the island, making it their home upon release. Much later American real estate companies, advertising the delights of "Treasure Island," were the real colonizers of the Isle of Pines.<sup>42</sup>

In the meantime a considerable stream of whites was entering Cuba, but through no efforts of the *Junta de Población*

<sup>41</sup> "Estado de la población blanca y de color de la Isla de Cuba en 1859," published as an appendix to Saco, *op. cit.*, IV, 37-39. This unsigned article contains references to the writings of "the virtuous youth, José Antonio Saco."

<sup>42</sup> For the documents on this colony see *Boletín del archivo nacional*, XXII, 154-160. The American phase of the island began after the Spanish-American War and has little connection with the subject of this study.



*Blanca*. Most of them came from Spain and the Canary Islands as laborers, although some entered from the United States and other countries. By the thirties considerable foreign capital was invested in the island, and with it came foreign laborers, foremen, superintendents, engineers, and investors. The construction of the first railroad is a case in point. Promoted by the *Junta de Fomento* (formerly the *Consulado*), it was built with British capital, under the direction of an American engineer who supervised laborers, mostly Irish and German, recruited in New York.<sup>43</sup> Some thirty-five thousand whites entered Cuba between 1834 and 1839 and within the same lustrum about twenty-seven thousand slaves also arrived in questionable ways.<sup>44</sup>

In spite of these figures the shortage of hands was acute and the remedy not patent. Britain had extracted from the reluctant Spanish government, on June 28, 1835, a second treaty designed to put teeth into the former which had been violated with impunity. Certain provisions of the second promising to reduce the importation of Negroes led to a renewed interest in white labor. The contrast between the motives of Ramírez and Cienfuegos and those of the leaders of the new generation is shown in the following quotation:

Since by the treaty celebrated with the English Government on June 28, 1835 the traffic in Negro slaves from the African coast was abolished, it cannot be hidden from the Government of Her Majesty what will be the sinister result of so philanthropic a measure on the agriculture of that island, and that the more scrupulous and exact the observance of this prohibition, the greater must be the crisis experienced by agriculture. Her Majesty, who always directs all her endeavors toward the welfare of the inhabitants of the island, and knows the importance of this serious business, would like to find the means to avoid any injury to fortune and wealth that this incident may occasion, so that timely precautions may be taken to the end that, since by the said treaty the annual importation of slave labor for agriculture will be diminished, other free laborers may be obtained by some means.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> D. C. Corbitt, "El primer ferrocarril construido en Cuba," *Revista cubana*, XII (April-June, 1938), 179-195.

<sup>44</sup> See footnote 41.

<sup>45</sup> *Boletín del archivo nacional*, XXII, 160-162. From a royal order of April 28, 1838.

The means to be considered for the prevention of a labor shortage was the "promotion of white colonization, a politic objective . . . and of known utility." The captain general was instructed to study and report on three points: the means of supplying the deficiency of laborers caused by the treaty; the state of the work of the *Junta de Población Blanca*; and the means of turning the stream of Canary Islanders from Brazil, Costa Firme and other places, to Cuba.

For advice the captain general turned to the *Junta de Fomento*. The members of this body were planters and businessmen eager to increase agricultural production, whose primary interest, although they had a general desire to see the entry of enough whites to counterbalance the blacks, lay in securing a supply of laborers. It is not surprising, then, that their observations, instead of laying emphasis on the colonization of white farmers, stressed the importance of white laborers. On the basis of their recommendations, which were forwarded to Spain by the captain general, orders were issued changing the direction of official efforts. One order, signed September 27, 1841, after expressing concern about the "fears inspired . . . by abolitionist ideas that were being born" in Cuba, instructed the *Junta de Fomento*

to take care that the tranquility and peace enjoyed by its inhabitants be not altered: to occupy itself in promoting the immigration of honorable and industrious Europeans: not to forget that the Government must fulfill faithfully the stipulations of the treaties in force about the abolition of the slave trade.<sup>46</sup>

Although this order virtually transferred the work of the *Junta de Población Blanca* to the *Junta de Fomento*, the former was not officially abolished until February 21 of the next year when a royal order

placed under the direction of the *Junta de Fomento*, not the system followed up to now in that island, but the duty of preparing and adopting measures for giving occupation to useful laborers from the Peninsula, its adjacent islands, or from other points in Europe, who voluntarily go to settle there, seeing to it, if possible, that some of them be employed on selected sugar plantations, completely separated

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 162-163.

from the Negroes, in order to learn the results of this kind of experiments when directed economically.<sup>47</sup>

Ironically enough, just as the *Junta de Población Blanca* was receiving its death blow, an opportunity presented itself for the foundation of a colony on the Ramírez-Cienfuegos plan, but the government failed to take advantage of it. An association had been formed in Florida by a number of persons who had enjoyed Spanish rule before 1821, for the purpose of promoting a settlement in Cuba. On August 28, 1841, a petition was presented to the captain general, requesting a grant of land near the north coast for some one hundred families who were ready to emigrate with their slaves. The cedula of October 31, 1817, was mentioned by the Floridians as the basis of their hopes. Receiving no reply from the Cuban authorities, the request was renewed on July 22, 1843. Within the intervening twenty-three months immigration had been turned over to the *Junta de Fomento*, which made some fruitless efforts to provide for the colonists at Nuevitas. After a year of reports and investigations the matter was dropped. A law favorable to homesteading in Florida, in the meantime, had greatly lessened the desires of the residents to emigrate.<sup>48</sup>

The abolition of the *Junta de Población Blanca* marks the end of an era in the history of Cuban immigration. At this time both abolitionists and pro-slavery men joined hands in search of a substitute for slavery. The latter were moved, of course, by the ever-lessening supply of slaves; the efforts of the former took the form of an attack on the institution. In the thirties the famous literary-reformist circle with Domingo Delmonte at its center, began attacking slavery with every weapon at its disposal—books, pamphlets, articles, and poems.<sup>49</sup> Feeling that there was little hope of abolition as

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 163-164. This marks the beginning of official recognition of the movement for a sugar-mill served by white labor.

<sup>48</sup> The papers concerned with the proposed colony are in A.N.C., Junta de Fomento, legajo 136, no. 8395. The signers of the petition were D. W. Whitehurst, Joseph Hernández, John C. Cleland, J. R. Evartson, S. F. Jones, James Keogh, J. Weedon, and David R. Dunham.

<sup>49</sup> For example, the *Colección de artículos* and *Francisco* by Anselmo Suárez y Romero, the poems of José Jacinto Milanés, and the *Autobiografía* of the slave Juan Francisco Manzano, to mention only a few.



long as the slave trade continued in open defiance of laws and treaties, the Delmonte group essayed the difficult task of convincing planters that free white labor would be more desirable and profitable, sustaining that, given sufficient white laborers, slavery would die a natural death. A detailed examination of their writings is beside the point, but one project deserves mention, not only for itself but for what grew out of it, i.e., what contemporaries called "a normal sugar-mill," or one served by white labor, using cane produced by white owners of small farms.

The ideal plantation, according to José María Dau, the chief exponent of the plan, should contain thirty *caballerías*, which, it was estimated, could be brought under cultivation for about \$1,100. This price included land, tools, houses and clearing. As an experiment it was suggested that Canary Islanders be imported and settled on the land, four families to the *caballería*. These families were to purchase their parcels at cost, plus six per cent interest until the land was paid for. The promoter of the experiment was to build the mill and buy the cane at a fixed price. Dau estimated the total cost to the promoter at \$67,850, on which an annual profit of \$14,000 might be expected, while the settlers could easily clear \$703 each from the cane planted on two-thirds of their eight-acre tracts, the remainder of the land being devoted to vegetables for market and home consumption.<sup>50</sup>

Criticisms were numerous, especially as to the diminutiveness of the farms, but in time there appeared landowners who were disposed to experiment. Anastasio de Orozco wrote to Delmonte upon the arrival of 249 Canary Islanders in Trinidad that many more were expected, and made the following comments:

We make use of the legal means among which are the treaties of 1818, that of Martínez de la Rosa, and especially of a Royal order communicated for its fulfillment to all authorities in the usual manner,

<sup>50</sup> José María Dau, "Ingenio sin esclavos," *Memorias de la Sociedad Económica*, 1837, pp. 270-280. This appeared as a pamphlet in the same year and was translated almost verbatim in David Turnbull, *Travels in the West. Cuba with Notices of Puerto Rico and the Slave Trade* (London, 1840), pp. 261-265. Another article on the subject by Dau is in the *Memorias* for 1838, pp. 100-116.

and that of going to the extreme of having the priests show the sin of buying Negroes. . . .<sup>51</sup>

By 1841 Catalans, as well as Canary Islanders, were being imported to the discontent of some of the resident fellow-countrymen of the former, who protested that "they did not want any Catalan Negroes here."<sup>52</sup> Gaspar de Betancourt, patriot and reformer from Camagüey, made a beginning with five Catalans and expressed his intention of increasing the number to fifteen or twenty as soon as his overseer could "manage" them.<sup>53</sup> A short time later he declared himself ready to try twenty-five Canary Islanders on one of his ranches and a like number on another, his plan being to work out a system similar to the "normal sugar-mill."<sup>54</sup> Nor was he content to try alone. A constant stream of articles on the subject flowed from his pen, and his tireless efforts to persuade other landowners to follow his example fill his correspondence with Delmonte for the next few years.

A suspicion on the part of the Spanish officials that the advocates of white labor were also advocates of independence was an impediment to the movement. The government feared that, the menace of a Negro revolt removed, the ties that bound Cuba to the mother-country would be strained, and grounds for misgivings there must have been. David Turnbull, an Englishman identified with the anti-slavery group in Cuba, wrote:

The great object of the Creole patriots in Cuba is to increase the white population, and thus render further importation of Africans unnecessary. Without denying them the credit of philanthropic motives, it cannot be concealed that the desire for independence may be traced through all their reasonings, just as it is notorious that the sentiment is deeply implanted in their hearts.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Centón epistolario de Domingo Delmonte*. [Edición de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (5 vols., Habana, 1924-1938), IV, 79-80. Orozco wrote on August 7, 1839. He seems to have attributed the treaty of June 28, 1835, to Francisco Martínez de la Rosa.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 12.

<sup>53</sup> Betancourt to Delmonte, April 18, 1841, *ibid.*, V, 19.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 20, 23-24.

<sup>55</sup> Turnbull, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Turnbull became British consul in Habana shortly after his book was printed in 1840. From then until 1842 he was the storm center of the slavery question in the island and was finally forced to leave.

Betancourt denied the charge,<sup>56</sup> but today he ranks as one of Cuba's greatest heroes in her struggle for independence. One of his letters reveals still another motive. He suggested to Delmonte a plan whereby several ranches, worth fifty to eighty thousand pesos, could be bought and resold as small farms to white immigrants, netting a profit of four hundred thousand pesos on the land and additional thousands on passage money, estimating that each hundred thousand pesos invested could be converted into a million. This project was tied up with another for putting a railroad through the section where the ranches were to be purchased.<sup>57</sup>

Betancourt continued through 1841, 1842, and part of 1843 to procure Catalans and Canary Islanders by every means possible, and to settle them on the ranches he already owned, while a number of other investors were persuaded to follow suit. Just as prospects were brightening the government censors stopped the publication of anything on the subject of white colonization. The following complaint was wrung from Betancourt:

The censorship does not let me say anything about colonization. . . . What does this mean? It is plain that the truth is not wanted: that only Negro laborers are wanted in the country: that we will be carried to the devil, if the force of public opinion and morality does not make modern people stop buying Negroes and bring in whites.<sup>58</sup>

Slave smuggling, in the meantime, was becoming more frequent than ever under the "wide view" taken by Captain General Leopoldo O'Donnell. A slave revolt, however, or a threat of a slave revolt, turned the current of opinion. Whether or not there was a widespread plot for an uprising in 1843, it is certain that sporadic outbreaks occurred on several plantations near Matanzas, and that a number of whites were killed. Energetic action by Captain General O'Donnell and his subordinates restored order, but many Negroes were killed, some with the greatest cruelty. So thoroughly was the fear of the whites aroused that petitions from a number of

<sup>56</sup> Betancourt to Delmonte, June 20, 1841, *Centón*, V, 31-32.

<sup>57</sup> *Idem to idem*, December 25, 1841, *ibid.*, V, 60-61.

<sup>58</sup> *Idem to idem*, April 30, 1843, *ibid.*, V, 94-95.



planters demanded the enforcement of the treaties abolishing the slave trade—treaties which they had been breaking deliberately for years. One petition, signed by ninety-three planters, called attention to the fact that 498,000 of Cuba's 660,000 inhabitants were slaves—shades of Haiti's martyrdom! The contraband slave trade was denominated "a stain on our civilization, a horrible abyss in which all our hopes for future security and well-being are buried, a hydra that frightens those capitalists who would come to settle on our soil."<sup>59</sup>

The captain general checked a petition circulating near Habana,<sup>60</sup> but was willing to have the matter studied by the proper authorities. Early in January, 1844, he addressed a questionnaire to a prominent slaveholder, Domingo de Aldama. The reply recommended the abolition of the trade, but in guarded terms.<sup>61</sup> In the Sociedad Económica, however, the government was severely criticized for its laxness in this matter.<sup>62</sup> The question, referred to the committee on white population of the *Junta de Fomento*, which had been responsible for white immigration for the past two years, produced the following resolutions: to receive five hundred agricultural laborers over a period of two years, and all skilled laborers that presented themselves; to pay thirty-two pesos for the passage of each laborer, and to provide each person upon arrival with eight pesos with which to buy "shoes, a straw hat, and clothes suitable to the climate"; and to provide him with food and lodging for one month. The immigrants were to repay only half of the forty pesos advanced, and, if at the end of a month jobs could not be found, they were to be employed by the *Junta* at four pesos a month, plus food and shelter.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, the *Junta*, moved to encourage private enterprise by adopting the plans already suggested by the Delmonte circle, offered a prize of twelve

<sup>59</sup> The petition was printed in Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud* (1938 ed.), IV, 195-201. See also D. C. Corbitt, "A Petition for the Continuation of O'Donnell as Captain General of Cuba," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVI (1936), 537-543.

<sup>60</sup> Saco, *op. cit.*, IV, 202-206.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 207-222.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 223-240.

<sup>63</sup> A.N.C., *Junta de Fomento*, libro 193, pp. 111-113.

thousand pesos to the first three plantation owners who should settle fifty white families on their land, and half as much to those securing twenty-five families. A second prize of twenty thousand pesos was offered for the establishment of a sugar-mill served exclusively by white labor, domestic servants included.<sup>64</sup>

A contract between the *Junta* and Domingo Goicuría called for the importation by the latter of five hundred white hands who would agree to remain in Cuba for three years.<sup>65</sup> Although Goicuría himself went to Spain in search of immigrants, he met with such meager success that in March of 1846 the *Junta de Fomento* accepted an offer by Zulueta and Company of six hundred coolies to be brought from China.<sup>66</sup> In the summer of the same year the committee on white population announced to the *Junta* that, including the six hundred coolies, all efforts to introduce "white" laborers had produced a total of only 1,673.<sup>67</sup> The discouraged members of the corporation then turned their minds back to Africa, the only sure source of labor that they knew about. A resolution was adopted on December 10 to petition the queen for a modification of the treaty with England. The next move depended on circumstances.

The experimental shipment of coolies arrived in June, 1847, but the early reports on the new hands were far from satisfactory. The *Junta* was prepared, therefore, to listen when Simón Peón of Yucatán asked to be allowed to bring in Indians with which to compete for the prize offered for the development of a sugar-mill served by whites. Besides the prize, however, he also wanted three ounces of gold for each Indian imported. The *Junta*, after consideration, decided that the demands were excessive; nevertheless, the Spanish consular agents in Yucatán were instructed to report on the feasibility of obtaining laborers from that quarter. Their

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>66</sup> A.N.C., *Junta de Fomento*, libro 195, pp. 21-37 and legajo 195, no. 8746. The importation of coolies is the subject of a larger study in preparation by the present writer.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, libro 195, pp. 50-51. The report of the committee was dated July 18, 1846.

replies were not encouraging, but one of them ventured to suggest that prisoners of war might be purchased. The *Junta* refused even to consider such a plan. A private company, thinking to profit by the idea, however, arranged with the governor of Yucatán to purchase captured Indians. Its example was followed by others and some two thousand were imported during the next decade, some of whom were obtained by kidnapping.<sup>68</sup>

About 1848 there began to arrive representatives of that sturdy race known as *Gallegos*, or Galicians. In 1852 one Urbano Feijóo de Sotomayor laid before the authorities a plan for a company with a capital stock of 100,000 pesos with which to import 50,000 of these Spanish "Irishmen." Permission was granted and importation was begun, the laborers being landed in Habana to the sound of their native music. But after the first few thousand had arrived, difficulties arose. One group of about two hundred broke into open mutiny, while others demonstrated their discontent in different ways. Suit was finally brought against the company for non-fulfillment of contracts and damages were awarded to the extent of 11,000 pesos, whereupon the company went into bankruptcy.<sup>69</sup>

Another patch in this crazy quilt was the proposal, in the middle fifties, to import negro apprentices from Africa. The plan was never adopted, probably because of the attitude of Britain, which had also taken a hand against the Indian enterprise. It lived only long enough to provoke an order from Spain commanding the captain general's examination.<sup>70</sup>

In the meantime Chinese coolies were proving their worth and had become the hope of the Cuban planters. The importation of Chinese was revived in 1852, and by 1874 some 125,000 had been brought in with contracts to work for eight

<sup>68</sup> D. C. Corbitt, "Los colonos yucatecos," *Revista bimestre cubana*, XXXIX (January-February, 1937), 64-99.

<sup>69</sup> Erenchun, *op. cit.*, 1855, pp. 1046-1048. The revolt is described in A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 636, no. 20,088.

<sup>70</sup> Antonio Bachiller, "Examen del proyecto de inmigración de aprendices africanos," *Revista de jurisprudencia*, I (1856), 150-164. José Antonio Saco, *Colección póstuma de papeles científicos históricos, políticos y de otros ramos sobre la Isla de Cuba* (Habana, 1881), pp. 275-318.



years at four pesos a month, plus food, shelter and two changes of raiment a year. The outbreak of the Ten Years' War in 1868 brought rapid modifications in Cuban life. The offer of liberty by the insurgents led many slaves and coolies to escape and join the army of rebels. Spain then ordered the coolie trade closed in 1871, but the last ship-load arrived in 1874.

The abolition of slavery followed closely on the heels of the Ten Years' War, and attention was once more focused on white colonization. Suggestions for promoting it began to appear in print before gradual abolition was adopted in 1880,<sup>71</sup> and by the end of the transition period (1880-1886) officialdom was convinced of the necessity of doing something to offset the labor shortage. The government announced itself ready to pay the passage of any white person desiring to go to work in Cuba for a period of at least one year, provided that the sum did not exceed the fare from Spain on the vessels of the Compañía Transatlántica. Passage money was to be paid either to the head of the immigrating family or to the *sociedad protectora* that was responsible for the immigrants. This was intended to encourage the entrance of transient laborers as well as settlers.<sup>72</sup> We shall see that there was an immediate increase in white immigration, but there is reason to believe that the abolition of slavery had more to do with this than the encouragement offered by the government.

Captain General Manuel Salamanca sponsored a plan for bringing in hundreds of Spanish families to settle in the province of Camagüey and an appropriation of 40,000 pesos was made, but the promoter died soon afterwards. His interest in the matter was such that even on his death bed he gave thought to it. A *junta* composed of fifteen high-ranking

<sup>71</sup> Pedro Gutiérrez y Salazar, *Reforma de Cuba, cuestión social. Abolición de la esclavitud, indemnización á los perjudicados con la abolición por medio de la organización del trabajo: de la inmigración y de las reformas económicas y administrativas que deben plantearse inmediatamente, con dos apéndices de interés para los generales y permanentes de la isla de Cuba* (Madrid, 1879); José Curbelo, *Proyecto de inmigración nacional para la Isla de Cuba* (Habana, 1882); Francisco Serrat, *Proyecto de inmigración blanca para la isla de Cuba* (Barcelona, 1886).

<sup>72</sup> The decree was issued on December 7, 1886. *Colección de reales órdenes publicadas en la gaceta de la Habana*, 1887, I, 20-22.

government officials and prominent citizens was organized by his successor to carry on the work. Although installed in elaborate offices in Habana, it seems to have borne no fruit.<sup>73</sup>

The removal of the blight of slavery and the growing sugar industry caused a flow of immigrants that far exceeded anything previously known in the island. The official statistics on the new immigration may be inaccurate, but they are sufficient to indicate the trend. Of the 69,364 Spaniards landed in Cuba between 1882 and 1886, 45,646 returned to Spain. In the next three years the number rose to 84,000. Another set of figures show that between 1882 and 1894 (excluding 1888) 224,000 arrived from Spain, while only 142,000 returned. The year 1894 alone saw the arrival of 40,900 and the departure of only 28,240.<sup>74</sup>

Immigration was seriously interrupted by the outbreak of Cuba's final war for independence in 1895. Statistics for the remainder of the colonial period are scanty.

One cannot escape the conclusion that Spain's efforts in behalf of immigration were almost entirely wasted through the blight of slavery and unwise legislation. Slavery ended, laborers and settlers came in abundance. Nor did the flow terminate with the colonial period; in fact, flood tide was not reached until some years after the establishment of the Republic.

Under the American military authorities after 1898, the laws of the United States were applied to immigration.<sup>75</sup> On the eve of the establishment of the Cuban Republic the immigration laws of the United States were gathered into a concise document known as Order No. 155 of the Headquarters Division of Cuba.<sup>76</sup> In it are found the familiar prohibition of the entry of idiots, insane persons, paupers, polygamists, persons convicted of felonies, misdemeanors or moral turpitude, and those suffering from loathsome or contagious diseases. All

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 1890, I, 46-47, 127-129; Antonio L. Valverde, *Colonización y inmigración en Cuba* (Habana, 1923), pp. 80-83.

<sup>74</sup> Carlos M. Trelles, *Biblioteca histórica cubana* (3 vols., Habana and Matanzas, 1922-1926), II, 360-361.

<sup>75</sup> *Colección legislativa de la Isla de Cuba*, 1899 (3d. ed. Habana, 1900), Circular Order No. 13.

<sup>76</sup> *Civil Orders and Circulars, Headquarters Division of Cuba*, 1902, Order No. 155.

Chinese except diplomats, merchants, students, and tourists were excluded, and the entry of contract laborers was forbidden. It is estimated that there entered the country between 1899 and 1905 some 150,000 Spaniards, besides thousands of other nationalities, including many Americans.<sup>77</sup> The rapid development of the island after its independence caused a greater demand for labor than even this flood of immigration was able to supply. Cuban planters, industrialists and statesmen, schooled under the paternalistic system, were not content to wait for the law of supply and demand to solve the problem, but asked for action on the part of the government. The result was a *Ley de Inmigración* of July 11, 1906, which authorized the executive to spend one million dollars—eighty per cent to promote the immigration of families from Europe and the Canary Islands, and twenty per cent for the importation of laborers, particularly from Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Northern Italy, the head of each family contracting to reside on some particular plantation.<sup>78</sup>

This law was scarcely signed before Tomás Estrada Palma, the first president, was retired and a second American occupation ensued, lasting until January 28, 1909. With the restoration of the Cuban government a new law was passed on June 23, 1911, that harked back to the Ramírez-Cienfuegos schemes of a century earlier. Three hundred thousand dollars were appropriated to be used for colonizing unpopulated sections of Cuba with desirable immigrants. One hundred and fifty to two hundred *caballerías* of land were to be set aside from the *realengos* inherited from the Spanish government for one hundred families imported by the secretary of agriculture.<sup>79</sup> From time to time agents were appointed to travel or reside in Europe. Commenting on this, Dr. Cosme de la Torriente made the following statement in the Cuban senate:

In the golden days of President Estrada Palma, when the Cuban Congress was concerned with the interests of our agriculture, a wise law was passed appropriating one million dollars to promote immigration, a law that created the office of Commissioner General of Immigration in Europe, to attend to the necessities of this immigration. . . . Government has succeeded government, Secretaries of Agriculture

<sup>77</sup> Trelles, *op. cit.*, II, 362.

<sup>78</sup> *Colección legislativa*, XXI, 221-223.    <sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXII, 552-553.



have come and gone, the cloud of immigration inspectors in the whole Republic has been enormous; and if I make no mistake, there was a Commissioner, some years ago, that lived in Spain under excellent conditions, with a very good salary and without contributing anything to the promotion of immigration. And notwithstanding, during all these years the Spanish vessels that have come to our shores have brought hundreds and hundreds, thousands and thousands of immigrants, without the Cuban State's taking any action beyond one or two modest experiments. And I ask, How many people would have come if this million dollars had been employed annually as provision was made in the said law of Congress? How many immigrants would have arrived, if the governments, the Secretaries of Agriculture, had occupied themselves in favoring the entry of foreign laborers into our country.<sup>80</sup>

A sample of expenditures from the immigration fund mentioned in the quotation above, may be found in a decree of President Mario G. Menocal in March, 1914, appointing Senator Manuel Fernández Guevara as special commissioner to Spain for the purpose of investigating "the best way to promote the immigration of Spaniards to our Republic on a large scale." Provision was made for the commissioner's passage and ten dollars a day from the "*Crédito de Inmigración*."<sup>81</sup>

The completion of the Panama Canal released the laborers that had been employed there and in December of 1912 President José Miguel Gómez gave the Nipe Bay Company permission to import two thousand workmen from either Panama or Spain for the sugar-mill at Preston. In the fall of the succeeding year the new president, Mario Menocal, went a step further and offered to pay a bonus of five dollars for every white person imported from Panama to Antilla or Santiago de Cuba—that is, to the eastern end of the island toward the settlement of which so much official effort had been directed since the days of Luís de las Casas. It was expected that five or six thousand would be secured by this means.<sup>82</sup>

The Nipe Bay Company, however, afraid to depend entirely on white immigrants, obtained permission early in 1913

<sup>80</sup> This speech, dated July 30, 1917, is printed in Cosme de la Torriente, *Cuarenta años de mi vida, 1898-1938* (Habana, 1939), pp. 99-111.

<sup>81</sup> *Colección legislativa*, XLIII, 337.      <sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, XLII, 371-372.

to bring in one thousand laborers from other West Indian islands.<sup>83</sup> Although that permit was revoked soon afterward, many others of a similar nature were granted later to sugar-mill operators and plantation owners; in fact, it became the custom for employers of labor to appeal to the president for Negroes from Haiti, Jamaica or other neighboring islands. The petitioner was usually required to agree to return the laborers to their homes at the end of the cane-cutting season, but fulfillment was often evaded and in recent years the government itself has had to repatriate these laborers. Authority for these permits was drawn from Order No. 155 and the law of July 11, 1906—laws that specifically forbade the entry of any laborer under contract. Signatures to the contracts were postponed until after landing, however, to overcome the difficulty.

Shortly after Cuba's entry into World War I all restrictions on contract labor were swept away along with laws prohibiting the entry of specified races. Cuba was assigned the task of providing the Allies with sugar for food and the manufacture of explosives. The sugar planters, always crying for more labor, asserted that they could not do their best unless the doors were opened to immigrants coming under labor contracts, especially Chinese. Farsseeing statesmen fought the idea, but they were overruled on August 3, 1917, when President Menocal signed a law permitting the entry of contract laborers without distinction until two years after the end of the war.<sup>84</sup>

Haitians, Jamaicans and other Antillans entered in great numbers, while some 150,000 Chinese were admitted. A few Koreans came from Mexico to develop the sisal-growing industry in which they had been employed. One sugar-mill experimented with a shipment of East Indians. Aside from the continuous flow of Spanish immigrants, few whites came.<sup>85</sup>

The flood of laborers did not stop with the end of the war, nor at the end of the specified two years afterward. Whether

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 46-47.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 595-602. Speeches in opposition are printed in Torriente, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-123.

<sup>85</sup> Torriente, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-123.

to reckon that period from the armistice or from the final treaty of peace was debatable, but the latter view finally prevailed. Two years after the treaty the old restrictions became the law again. However, enforcement officers chose to take a "wide view," so that it came about that while official reports showed the entrance of no immigrants, the daily papers openly announced the coming of thousands.<sup>86</sup> Post-war conditions in Europe motivated the emigration of great numbers, many of them to Cuba. Patriotic writers protested against this influx of foreigners, but the depression and the ruin of the sugar industry was the real check.

With the decrease of industry, the status of employed foreigners grew in unpopularity. This attitude was acutely accentuated during the revolutionary movements of 1933 and the years immediately following. Politicians, realizing the possibilities, drafted the famous "fifty per cent law" requiring that half the employees in any establishment be Cuban. The original legislation has been modified from time to time, but the general tendency has been to increase the percentage of Cubans. Restrictions on the entry of foreigners have become more rigorous—a complete reversal of the century-old policy followed by both colonial and national governments. The new legislation has not always been strictly enforced, especially since the outbreak of the second European war, Cuba's attitude toward refugees being very liberal. In the future, with the return of prosperity when sugar prices begin to soar, a new interpretation will probably be sought. It is not unlikely that another white colonization movement will be launched, for Cuba still has much undeveloped land and many untouched resources, but immigration in the future will be as independent of government encouragement or discouragement as it has been in the past.

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<sup>86</sup> Compare the messages of President Alfredo Zayas (*Gaceta oficial de la república de Cuba*, November 15, 1922, and May 12, 1924) with the shipping page of the *Havana Post* and with "*La invasión amarilla*," *El Mundo*, May 10, 1924.



## CONTRABAND TRADE BETWEEN JAMAICA AND THE SPANISH MAIN, AND THE FREE PORT ACT OF 1766

The commercial organization of the Spanish empire has been described in many works,<sup>1</sup> and its general details are well known. The Cadiz-Seville monopoly, the system of carefully regulated convoyed fleets sailing between set points at stated intervals, the meticulous attention to detail and the increasingly heavy taxation placed upon the trade concern us only in so far as they were responsible for the development of the large scale contraband trade with which this paper deals. From the first the Spaniards took the view that their empire was a closed area, and they classified as illicit all trade between the inhabitants of their empire and the nationals of any other power. The system was not intended to deprive the Spanish colonists of supplies of European manufactured goods at reasonable prices. Nevertheless, because of its inevitable defects, granted the conditions of the age, that was what the system did. It was not intended to prevent the flow of American produce to the European market, for it was designed merely to canalize the flow. However, it succeeded in placing formidable barriers in the stream. The Spaniards were not alone in attempting to exclude foreigners from the benefits of their empire and to restrict its commerce to themselves, for all other imperial powers of that age also adhered to the same ideal; nor were they alone in facing the ever-

<sup>1</sup> The most easily available good account is that in C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918). The literature available for the study of the trade of the Spanish Empire is now too considerable to be conveniently summarized in a footnote. There is an adequate list in *Economic Literature of Latin America* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 3-6. On certain special aspects see A. Christelow, "French Interest in the Spanish Empire during the Ministry of the Duc de Choiseul, 1759 to 1771," *The Hispanio American Historical Review*, XXI (1941), 515. No very full examination of Spanish sources was possible in the period during which the material for this article was gathered; but it is unlikely that such an examination, had it been possible, would have affected the main conclusions.

recurrent problem of smuggling by nationals and foreigners alike and finding it difficult of solution.<sup>2</sup> The problem as the Spaniards faced it in their empire was unique both in its size and in its scope, and unless we understand the reasons for this we shall be unable to comprehend the importance which the British government and British merchants attached to the contraband trade between Jamaica and the Spanish colonies in the eighteenth century.

The most important factor which governed the Spanish problem was the existence within the empire of certain supplies of raw materials which became of vital importance to the economic life of Europe. Spanish dollars, for example, were the one key which effectively opened the Asiatic market, for when England in the early years of the seventeenth century began to develop her sea trade with India American silver was the one thing which made success a possibility. Spanish-American dyewoods were equally necessary for reducing production costs in the expanding English textile trades, while Europeans everywhere clamored for those American drugs which they fondly imagined would banish all their bodily ills. Spanish-American hides, both tanned and raw, helped to satisfy the growing European demand for leather for a variety of industrial purposes. There were a few other items, but dollars, drugs, dyewoods and hides were the principal products the European consumer demanded in a volume which the Spanish commercial system could not possibly supply.<sup>3</sup> Yet the Spaniards constantly refused to make relaxations in their system which would permit the demand legally to be satisfied. Alderman Beckford said to the House of Commons in 1761,<sup>4</sup> "You have great manufactures in this country which cannot do without logwood, and the Spaniards will neither let you take it nor can they sell it to you." Although the alderman was an interested member of the West India trade there was some justice in his statement, and it would

<sup>2</sup> L. Vignols, "L'ancien concept monopole et la contrebande universelle," *Revue de l'histoire économique et sociale*, XIII, No. 2 (1925), 239-299.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Hauser, "Les origines du problème des matières premières et du problème des débauchés," *Revue de l'histoire économique et sociale*, XVI, No. 4 (1928), 796-811.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Beckford on the Address, British Museum, Add. MSS., 38,334, ff. 29-31

have been true had he extended it to products other than logwood.

The problem of raw materials thus imposed a necessity upon the British; but at the same time the fact that the Spaniards, even though unintentionally, succeeded in placing serious limitations upon the internal volume of their imperial trade offered the British a great opportunity. The industrial decline of Spain in the seventeenth century, coupled with rising costs of shipment to the Indies through the authorized channels and the frequent interruption of imperial commerce by war, led to a state of affairs which enabled Sir John Narborough to report that the inhabitants of Chile had silver buckles to their belts and golden hilts to their swords but lacked the commonest of European manufactures.<sup>5</sup> British and other non-Hispanic European manufacturers saw in this situation a market, the potentialities of which were very great. Africa at that time was useful for little save the slave trade, and that was dependent for its sales upon America. The English and the French colonies in North America were too young to offer much of a market and they had no important raw materials to offer in exchange. Asia offered an enormous market and valuable products in return, but much Asiatic produce had as yet to be paid for in bullion which could be obtained only in Brazil or the Spanish Indies. These latter areas were the only ones which offered at the same time both a supply of important raw materials and a good market, and upon trade with them trade with other areas was dependent. Within the British empire itself, as contemporaries well realized, the wheels of commerce were kept moving fairly smoothly by the constant lubrication provided by the steady influx of new supplies of money through illicit trade with the Spanish empire. Such is the background which must be borne in mind if the events described in this paper are to be understood.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Spaniards recognized that contraband trade, especially in the Caribbean where the numerous small islands offered bases, was a very

<sup>5</sup> *Sir John Narborough's Voyage to the South Seas; his Journal* (London, 1711), pp. 85-87.



serious problem, and this was later aggravated by the British acquisition of Jamaica.<sup>6</sup> The trade was carried on in a variety of ways. English traders might hover off the Spanish coasts until they found a chance to dispose of their goods. They might succeed through bribery in obtaining the elaborate co-operation of Spanish officials, or they might even have the unofficial protection of their own warships. Often the officers of the men o'war were themselves not above participation in the traffic.<sup>7</sup> However, when the trade was carried in British bottoms it seems to have been at times a very cut-and-run business, for the *guarda costas* were rarely a force which could be completely ignored. Nor were the traders always safe from their own customers who, if numerous, were not above attempts to seize by force both goods and ship. When the trade was carried on in Spanish bottoms by Spaniards coming to Jamaica or other British islands and there exchanging their bullion and produce for the goods which they needed, the situation, from the British point of view, was safer, for the Spaniards were then the ones who ran the risk. From the point of view of the Spanish government there was no essential difference, for the traffic was illicit whether carried on by its own subjects or the nationals of other powers. From the point of view of strict British law, as we shall see later, there were certain difficulties when Spanish vessels came to British ports, for the Acts of Trade and Navigation were designed carefully to exclude foreign bottoms under most circumstances.

Conveniently enough, the British usually succeeded in forgetting their own laws in this particular instance. The general situation, so far as concerned the contraband trade between the Spanish colonies and Jamaica, was that the English would not stop the trade and the Spaniards could not. The

<sup>6</sup> I. A. Wright, "Rescates: with special reference to Cuba, 1599-1610," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, III (1920), 333-361; V. L. Brown, "Contraband trade; a factor in the decline of Spain's empire in America," *ibid.*, VIII (1928), 178-189.

<sup>7</sup> An English Merchant, *The Spanish Empire in America* (London, 1747), pp. 318-319; *The Present State of the British Empire* (London, 1768), pp. 284-285; M. Postlethwayt, *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* (London, 1771), under "Dutch America" and "Spanish America."

question was therefore one which served perpetually to embitter relations between the two countries, and at times (as in 1739) was a potent factor in the outbreak of hostilities.

In 1759, with the accession of Charles III to the throne of Spain, the question of contraband trading came once more to the fore as a factor in Anglo-Spanish relations. One of the new king's first moves had been to order an enquiry into the economic life of the empire, and a report which resulted from this was presented to him in 1761.<sup>8</sup> Part of this stated:

By far the worst offenders of all in the contraband trade (which is the root of so many disorders in Your Majesty's dominions) are the English. The English . . . admit that the most considerable branch of trade which they have in America is the contraband trade which they have with the dominions of Spain, and though they cannot accurately assess its worth it reaches at least 6,000,000 pesos each year, and this in contravention of the most solemn treaties. Nor can we ignore the manner in which they and the Dutch have attempted in Spain to reduce the frequency of the *flotas* and *galeones* in order to introduce contraband in greater abundance and with greater facility.

The report added that the British operated chiefly from Jamaica, although some of their goods entered the Spanish empire via the smaller British islands or the logwood settlements on the coast of Honduras. Even before the production of this document Charles had on several occasions told the Marquis d'Ossun, French ambassador to Spain, that he was determined to end this illicit trade of the British, which he considered one of the worst dangers to the security of his empire.<sup>9</sup>

If Charles was determined to end this trade, there were many people in England who were equally determined to extend it,<sup>10</sup> and the overwhelming British victory in the Seven

<sup>8</sup> In Add. MSS., 36,339, ff. 303-332, from an original in Archivo General de Indias, Secretaría del Perú, Secular, Indiferente General, 146-1-10.

<sup>9</sup> Ossun to Choiseul, February 22, 1760, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, Correspondance Politique, Espagne, 527, ff. 268-281; *idem* to *idem*, May 26, 1760, *ibid.*, 528, ff. 283-289; *idem* to *idem*, November 29, 1761, *ibid.*, 534, ff. 218-233.

<sup>10</sup> H. Ellis to Egremont, January 16, 1762, North MSS., Bodleian Library, Oxford, B 6, ff. 37-44; Paterson to Bute, February 23, 1762, *ibid.*, A 6, f. 161; P. Collinson to same, February 1 and 5, 1762, *ibid.*, A 6, ff. 92-93; Anonymous to

Years' War meant that they were far more likely than Charles to achieve their desire. The Peace of Paris granted the English no new commercial rights in the Spanish empire, but it gave them Florida and certain French islands in the Caribbean, and these places were regarded by many as new bases from which contraband trade with the Spanish Main could be conducted. The British of that age, like many people since, hopelessly exaggerated the possibility of profits to be made in Spanish America. Moreover, their optimistic views seemed to be confirmed by the considerable sums of bullion taken in 1762 in Habana and Manila, and by the great volume of their commerce with Cuba during the period of occupation.<sup>11</sup> This immediate background partly explains the interest in the possibility of utilizing the new possessions as contraband bases, an attitude which often found expression during the course of 1763.

Most of the attention was directed to Florida, because it was considered well suited for the organization of a profitable contraband trade with New Spain, Louisiana and the Spanish islands. Two pamphlets of 1763<sup>12</sup> pointed out the advantages of Mobile as a port for contraband trade with Habana and New Spain. One of them argued that the Spaniards would be willing to send their silver and gold to Europe through such channels, because it would enable them to escape payment of the *quinto*, and expressed the opinion that "more dollars will come to England from thence, if made free, than from Cadiz; and indigo and cochineal as much as we please."<sup>13</sup> Pamphleteers of a later date took very much the same view. Thus one published in 1769<sup>14</sup> said:

*idem*, 1762, *ibid.*, B 6, ff. 176-180; Alexander Wright to *idem*, April 10, April 30, and June 2, 1762, *ibid.*, B 6, ff. 85-90, 94-104, 126-145.

<sup>11</sup> During the period of less than a year of British occupation Habana was visited by 96 merchantmen, instead of an average 3, importing goods which paid 400,000 pesos in duties instead of the average 30,000; Ossun to Choiseul, September 9, 1765, AAE., CP., Esp., 544, ff. 44-51; Béliardi to Praslin, October 7, 1765, *ibid.*, 544, ff. 142-144.

<sup>12</sup> *Impartial observations to be considered on by the King, his ministers and the people of Great Britain* (London, 1763); and *Considerations which may tend to promote the settlement of our new West Indian colonies by encouraging individuals to embark in the undertaking* (London, 1763).

<sup>13</sup> *Impartial Observations* . . . , p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> *A description of East Florida, with a journal kept by John Bartrem of*



The importance of East Florida, in a national view, depends upon two things; first, its fertility in producing such articles of commerce as will be useful to Great Britain; secondly, upon its conveniency, from its situation and other circumstances, to carry on a beneficial trade with the Spanish settlements in time of peace and to cut off their communications with Europe in time of war.

Nor were such opinions merely those of frivolous pamphleteers lured by a will o' the wisp which hardheaded traders had long since ceased to follow. Johnstone, the first Governor of West Florida, wrote to the Board of Trade on October 31, 1764:<sup>15</sup>

My own particular opinion is that commerce must give value to the lands. . . . Situated as this colony is, nothing but downright folly can prevent a very extensive commerce. The most material must be that of the Spanish trade. Now that New Orleans is ceded to Spain, it must serve as a means to introduce our commodities to the Spanish dominions, without a rival; and so, in a manner, deliver to us the key to the wealth of Mexico.

The House of Assembly of the same colony at its first meeting in November, 1766, recorded its opinion that the greatest advantage of the colony was its admirable situation for trade with the Spaniards, and recommended the opening of such commerce "on a large, generous and extensive scale."<sup>16</sup> Johnstone further reported that "everybody has crowded here in the hope of commerce with New Orleans and the Gulph [*sic*] of Mexico."<sup>17</sup>

Florida received most of the attention, but minor cessions made by the Peace of Paris were not neglected. Thus one proposal asked that great attention be paid to "Cariaucou, one of the Grenadillas [which has] a commodious port near New Spain, and may draw great trade from thence."<sup>18</sup> Another proposed that Grenada be developed as a contraband

*Philadelphia* (London, 1769), pp. ii-vi. Cf. *The American Traveller or observations on the present state, culture and commerce of the British colonies* (London, 1769), pp. 107-108.

<sup>15</sup> Public Record Office, Colonial Office (hereafter cited as C. O.), 5/574.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 5/575, ff. 217-231.

<sup>17</sup> Johnstone to Halifax, February 19, 1765, *ibid.*, 5/574, pt. i, ff. 233-247.

<sup>18</sup> *Impartial Observations* . . . , p. 15.

base,<sup>19</sup> while still another wanted to encourage trade between Tobago and Trinidad and Venezuela by allowing the Spaniards to supply the island with cattle, horses and mules in exchange for British manufactures.<sup>20</sup> Passing outside the limits of the recent cessions, one contraband enthusiast proposed the reoccupation of Ruatan and seven other adjacent islands near the Mosquito Coast.<sup>21</sup> The author wrote:

These islands lye in a most advantageous situation for trade with some of the richest settlements of the Spaniards, who, on account of their proximity and situation, could have a speedy access to them, and for trading to and with them; which, it is presumed, would not only render the want of an Assiento ship unnecessary, but also prevent the disputes and disturbances that have so often happened in consequence of the Buccanneering, Contraband and Illicit Trade carried on in those parts; as the Spaniards would trade with us and not we with the Spaniard.

This proposal was the work of a man who had spent many years in the West Indies, and is of considerable interest in view of later events.

Such proposals must not be considered as originating merely in an unworthy desire to make easy money from illicit trade, for in making them many of the advocates were moved by a shrewd appreciation of the real interests of the British empire as a whole. The dollars, drugs and dyewoods of contraband trade which flowed to England via her imperial outposts were important for the smooth functioning of the imperial economic machine. Jamaica, although its exports usually exceeded in value its imports from Britain, was faced with a heavy annual cash drain because of absentee landlordism. Gold and silver continually left the island and had to be

<sup>19</sup> Memorial concerning the island of Grenada and the islands of the Grenadillas, North MSS., B 6 ff. 281-286.

<sup>20</sup> *Some hints for the better settlement of the ceded islands*, July 15, 1763, *ibid.*, B 6, ff. 281-286; *Considerations . . . to promote the settlement of our new West Indian colonies*, p. 11; *Reflections on the domestic policy proper to be observed on the conclusion of a peace* (London, 1763), p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> *Proposal humbly addressed to the Earl of Bute by his most obedient servant, Joshua Bodley*, North MSS., B 6, f. 321. Ruatan had been occupied by the British from 1740-1748; R. Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 97-104.

replenished through the medium of the Spanish trade.<sup>22</sup> Similar effects were felt in other colonies. Thus when the expected Spanish merchants failed to arrive in Florida, Johnstone found himself in great difficulties because of "an absolute dearth of cash, and an exchange which is 23% against us."<sup>23</sup> The question also affected the money supply of the mainland colonies, for an appreciable part of the returns from their thriving West Indian commerce was in cash. After 1763 this became increasingly important because of the sudden cessation of large-scale governmental expenditure in North America, the restrictions made by the Colonial Currencies Act (4 Geo. III, c. 34), and the demands made by new legislation. In short, as a Parliamentary petition of 1767 pointed out, British trade with the Spanish Indies was an integral part of a very complicated and delicate trading structure.<sup>24</sup> If anything happened to that trade the repercussions were likely to be serious and to affect every part of the empire. The West Indians and the mainland colonists alike would lack the wherewithal to pay for their purchases in Britain, the African slave trade would be pursued with less enthusiasm, and the manufacturers of Manchester, Birmingham and the West Riding would find themselves faced with a serious fall in demand.

Unfortunately there were always people who never appreciated this integration of imperial commerce, and always others who stood to profit from the permanent suppression of the Spanish trade or from occasional excursions against it. This meant that the Jamaica trade was always liable to interruption, even in times of peace with Spain.<sup>25</sup> One such interruption had occurred in November, 1756, when the *Virgen del Pilar*, bound from Habana to Jamaica with 7,591 *pesos fuertes* in money and 216 *pesos fuertes* in jewelry was taken by the privateer *Peggy* of New York.<sup>26</sup> Much to the dismay

<sup>22</sup> C. L. Nettels, "Money supply of the American colonies before 1720," *Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, No. 20 (1934).

<sup>23</sup> Johnstone to Halifax, February 19, 1765, C. O., 5/574, pt. i, ff. 233-247.

<sup>24</sup> *The History, Debates and Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, from the year 1743 to the year 1774*, (London, 1792), IV, 495-497.

<sup>25</sup> Nettels, *op. cit.*, chapter I.

<sup>26</sup> Fuentes to Pitt, January 1, 1756, Public Record Office, State Papers Foreign, (hereafter cited as S. P. F.), Spain, 94/163.



of the Jamaica merchants the *Virgen* was declared good prize on the grounds that all trade between the two colonies was forbidden.<sup>27</sup> Moreover on January 30, 1762, the Jamaica Council ordered the seizure of all ships and effects of all Spanish traders in Jamaican harbors.<sup>28</sup> The Council had not at that date received any formal notification of a declaration of war between England and Spain, and the only basis for its action was a copy of the Spanish manifesto of December 15, 1761, and a letter from the Admiralty to all ships on the Jamaica station warning officers of the possibility of a breach. The Spanish traders had had no warning of approaching hostilities, and it was said that to them the action appeared as treachery of the worst kind. The Jamaica merchants protested that this was the kind of folly to be expected when the Governor's Council consisted entirely of planters and naval officers and excluded their own representatives.<sup>29</sup>

On the basis of this somewhat slender evidence the Jamaica merchants and the West India Committee later put forward the theory that the confidence of the Spanish traders in the necessary tolerance and forbearance of the British government had been badly shaken before the Peace of Paris. But the unfortunate incidents described above did not prevent the Spaniards from doing a thriving trade with Jamaica in 1763, so that it is hard to allow such events the importance the merchants felt they warranted. Apparently they only began to be considered important when, in 1764, the optimistic belief in an approaching steady increase in the trade with the Spanish Main was rudely shattered. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for July of that year reported a Jamaica merchant as writing:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Enclosure No. 6 in *ibid.*; Committee on the America Papers, February 12, 1766, Add. MSS., 33,030, f. 192.

<sup>28</sup> Record of Council held at Santiago de la Vega, January 30, 1762, C. O., 137/62, f. 178.

<sup>29</sup> George Raplay, President of the Council of Merchants, to Governor Lyttleton, March 4, 1766, *ibid.*, 137/62, ff. 176-177.

<sup>30</sup> Edward Long, *A History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), II, 197-198; Bryan Edwards, *History of the West Indies* (London, 1793), I, 237-243; D. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce* (London, 1805), III, 399; A. Anderson, *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origins of Commerce* (London, 1789), IV, 63-64; Lowell J. Ragatz, *Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833* (New York, 1928), pp. 120-122.

The commercial concerns of this part of the world were never known so bad. . . . That part of the trade which was the support of the island and its credit at home, is entirely subsided by orders from home to suppress all commerce with the Spaniards who were the only people that brought us money here for our British manufactures and enabled us to make our remittances to England. Not a Spanish vessel can now come with money to this island, but what is seized by officers either under the Admiralty or Governor. We have been prevented in receiving in this island since I arrived here near a million dollars. . . . They now carry this money to the French and Dutch islands, which otherwise would have centered in us.

In Florida things were in no better state, and Johnstone wrote in 1765 that two hundred people had already left West Florida because the Spanish commerce "has been entirely interrupted by His Majesty's ships."<sup>31</sup>

What had happened to shatter so abruptly the rosy dreams of rising trade and increased profits? The answer must be sought in the mass of allegations and counter-allegations which were made later, many on rather scanty evidence and some for very devious motives. Edward Long, who was in Jamaica from 1753 to 1769, and Bryan Edwards, who was there from 1760 to 1773, both stated that the Spanish trade practically vanished in 1764, and attempted to prove this by the decline in British exports to the island in that year. They argued that the decline was due to the disappearance of the Spanish trade as a result of bad legislation by the imperial Parliament.<sup>32</sup> They and other observers concurred in placing the blame upon the shoulders of ill-advised British legislators and overofficial naval officers.

The laws which aroused so much West Indian opposition were Acts of Parliament passed in 1762 and 1763 as part of a vigorous campaign for the eradication of smuggling and the punishment of offenders against the Acts of Trade and Navigation. The origin of this legislative campaign was to be found in the drawing of the government's attention to the treasonable activities of the American colonists in supplying the French with food and munitions during the recent war.

<sup>31</sup> Johnstone to Halifax, February 19, 1765, C. O., 5/574, pt. i, ff. 237-243.

<sup>32</sup> Long, *op. cit.*, II, 197; Edwards, *op. cit.*, I, 237-238.

Amongst other measures taken against this was an act of 1762 (3 Geo. III, c. 22), entitled *An Act for the further encouragement of His Majesty's revenues and customs, and for the prevention of the clandestine running of goods into any part of His Majesty's dominions*, which had increased the financial interest of both revenue officers and naval men in the seizure of smuggling craft. This, it was alleged, was partly responsible for the decline of the Spanish trade. Further steps were taken in 1763 when it was decided that active suppression of all colonial contraband in peace-time would help to ensure that British-American channels of supply would be more firmly closed against the French in any future war. The Sugar Act (4 Geo. III, c. 15), apart from its revenue clauses, was designed for this purpose. By it all officers of warships on American stations were made to take the customhouse oath and to act as revenue officers, thereby increasing the forces of repression. Moreover, clause XXXIII of the Act stated:

That from and after the 29th of September, 1764, if any foreign ship or vessel whatsoever shall be found at anchor, or hovering within two leagues of the shore of any land, island, plantation, colony, territory or place which shall or may be in the possession . . . of His Majesty . . . in America, and shall not depart from the coast, and proceed upon her voyage to some foreign port or place, within forty-eight hours after the master or other person taking the charge of such ship or vessel shall be required to do so by an officer of His Majesty's Customs, unless in case of unavoidable necessity or stress of weather, such ship or vessel, with all the goods therein laden, shall be forfeited and lost, whether bulk shall have been broken or not; and shall and may be seized and prosecuted by any officer of His Majesty's Customs.

It was to these words, more than to anything else, that the Jamaica merchants ascribed the decay of the Spanish trade. They never established their point very clearly, and many of their protests were based on a general desire to support profitable smuggling, rather than upon any particular interest in the Spanish trade. It was sound strategy to base opposition upon the danger to that trade, so highly regarded by government and public alike.

Following the new legislation, strict orders were sent to the governors of all the American possessions and to all naval



officers in those areas to take active measures for the suppression of all trade contrary to British law. Thus in January, 1764, Governor Lyttleton of Jamaica was ordered to coöperate with the commandants of His Majesty's ships for the suppression of contraband trade.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately the wording of the orders did not distinguish between the various aspects of the contraband trade, being based upon clause XXXIII of the Sugar Act. The Spanish trade therefore seemed to stand prohibited equally with the French. Possibly the conviction that the prohibition did so extend was strengthened by memories of Monte Christi, a port in San Domingo, and one of the chief channels through which the French had been supplied with North American goods during the last war. The whole question of the legitimacy of the Spanish trade had certainly been raised during the war,<sup>34</sup> but no authoritative ministerial opinion had been given on it. Quite understandably, ministers were reluctant to assert the legitimacy of a trade which they sometimes denied existed. What judicial opinion there was, such as that given in the case of the *Virgen del Pilar*, seemed to prohibit the trade. Lyttleton was very much worried, but his duty seemed clear. He therefore sent formal orders to the customs and the colonels of militia of the coastal parishes bidding them suppress all smuggling.<sup>35</sup> In March, 1764, he received further orders from the Board of Trade, dated October 11, 1763, which called for the uncompromising suppression of all contraband trade. He thereupon decreed that soldiers were to be placed on board all foreign vessels venturing into Jamaica in search of refreshment or on other excuses, stating that all trade with such vessels was to be prevented.<sup>36</sup> At the same time similar orders were received by the naval officers in the Floridas, and they began to refuse to permit importations in foreign bottoms.<sup>37</sup>

Lyttleton, in a letter to the Board of Trade of April 2, 1764, revealed his state of mind.<sup>38</sup> In his letter he

<sup>33</sup> Egremont to Lyttleton, January, 1764, C. O., 137/61, f. 229.

<sup>34</sup> Colden to Pitt, December 27, 1760, *ibid.*, 5/20, ff. 45-47.

<sup>35</sup> Order dated January 4, 1764, *ibid.*, 137/33.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 137/33.

<sup>37</sup> Sir John Lindsay to Admiralty, n.d., but enclosed in Johnstone to Halifax, February 19, 1765, *ibid.*, 5/574, pt. i, f. 277. <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 137/33.

begged leave to remark on the importance of the traffic which used to be carried on with the Spaniards who came in small vessels upon the coast of the island, and purchased large quantities of British manufactures in return for mules, cattle and bullion.

He pointed out that the bullion especially was very important, since it was used both as a medium for internal circulation and for the payment of the debt to Great Britain, but added "as the orders I have received do not appear to me to allow of any latitude of interpretation, this particular trade stands prohibited." The consequence would be that all commercial activities would soon be distressed for lack of coin, because the island had no paper money. The authorities in Florida found themselves in a similar dilemma, but began to feel the effects of lack of bullion much more severely than did those in Jamaica.<sup>39</sup> Throughout the British occupation the Floridas always had an adverse trade balance, which meant that even in good times the currency situation was difficult.

News of the order issued by Lyttleton in January, 1764, reached the West India Committee in London in the following April, and produced immediate repercussions.<sup>40</sup> The members had already received information that the Spanish trade "went not so well as the merchants would wish," and the new order seemed to threaten its total extinction. A deputation of three, headed by the chairman, Mr. Boston Long, was immediately sent to see Lord Halifax and discuss the matter with him. Long showed Halifax the information the committee had received and stressed the importance of the Spanish trade. Halifax replied that he did not need to be convinced of its importance, and added that: "he knew of no such instructions. No government could hurt that trade, and something should be done." He suggested that the delegation go to the Admiralty and pursue their enquiries there, but the Admiralty denied responsibility and passed them on to the Treasury. In the latter ministry Grenville spoke with them and denied that

<sup>39</sup> Johnstone to Halifax, February 19, 1765, *ibid.*, 5/574, pt. i, ff. 233-247.

<sup>40</sup> The following account is taken from Mr. Boston Long's evidence before the Committee of the Whole House, February 17, 1766, Add. MSS., 33,030, ff. 189-195. Cobbett used this document in his *Parliamentary History*, vol. XVI, but he printed only the evidence of Franklin and overlooked the importance of that given by other persons.

any such instructions had been issued on his orders. He said, however, that he did not want to send the delegates on a wild goose chase from office to office, that it was obvious that in such a matter of surpassing importance something ought to be done immediately, and that if they would suggest adequate measures he would himself draw up the necessary orders. Long answered that for the moment it would be enough if orders were issued for Spanish vessels to be treated as formerly, although he considered that there were certain unsatisfactory aspects of the situation which ought to be clarified as soon as possible. On May 12 new orders were sent to Lyttleton to the effect that the Spanish trade was not to be interfered with and that Spanish vessels appearing in Jamaican waters were to be accorded their former treatment.<sup>41</sup> On July 16 the Governor replied that he had taken the necessary steps to put the new orders into execution.<sup>42</sup>

The whole incident showed the importance attached to trade with the Spanish settlers both by the West India Committee and by the government; but it showed also that the orders prohibiting the Spanish trade had lasted only six months and that they had been an unintended consequence of legislation directed against another type of trade. It is doubtful whether the orders had had very much effect even during the period they were in force. Lyttleton said that no Spanish vessels had been seized upon his orders, and he knew of none seized in Jamaica on the orders of anyone else.<sup>43</sup> The wild rumors that the orders had led to the seizure of Spanish ships in Jamaican waters were quite untrue. When Spanish vessels came to the island soldiers were placed on board of them conformable to the orders of the Board of Trade in order to prevent smuggling. At the same time the masters were given permission "to secure provisions or any other assistance of which they stood in need," and this may mean that the Spaniards were allowed to exchange their dollars for English goods pretty much as usual. In West Florida, naval vessels prevented two small Spanish vessels from entering Pensacola,

<sup>41</sup> C. O., 137/33.

<sup>42</sup> Lyttleton to Board of Trade, July 16, 1764, *ibid.*, 137/33.

<sup>43</sup> Lyttleton to Board of Trade, July 16, 1764, *ibid.*, 137/33.



much to the indignation of the merchants.<sup>44</sup> In East Florida, Governor Grant had always taken the sensible view that there was nothing in his instructions preventing the importation of bullion, and he had no naval officers to contradict him. This did not matter very much, for no Spaniard wanted to trade with St. Augustine.<sup>45</sup>

Not content with visits to the various ministers the West India Committee of Merchants, in May, 1764, applied to the Treasury for the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown on the legitimacy of the Spanish trade.<sup>46</sup> Charles Yorke and William de Grey therefore considered the status of the trade under the Treaties of Commerce, the Acts of Trade and Navigation and the recent orders to customs and naval officers. In the case of the treaties it was argued that only article VIII of the Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1670 was relevant.

In this article each of the parties stipulates for himself that his subjects shall not exercise any commerce in the ports of the other, but it is not stipulated that either of the powers shall exclude the other from a trade *in his own ports*, each party engaging only for the restraint of his own subjects. Hence on the principle *unusquisque renunciare potest jure pro se introducto*, each for himself without consulting the other might have permitted subjects of the other to enter his ports for traffick.

Subsequent treaties had not abrogated this right. It was further argued that the Treaties of Utrecht prevented the Spaniards from granting privileges in the American trade to any save the British but that the British were under no reciprocal obligation. The power of the king of England to admit or exclude the Spaniards or any other nation from his American ports remained unlimited by the letter or construction of any treaty whatsoever. So far as the treaties were concerned it was therefore beyond all doubt that the king had the right to admit Spanish vessels to trade in British ports, and that no special powers or dispensations were needed for this.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Johnstone to Pownall, September 25, 1764, *ibid.*, 5/574, pt. i, f. 103: Mr. Boston Long's evidence, Add. MSS., 33,030, f. 190.

<sup>45</sup> Grant to f, April 26, 1766, C. O., 5/548, ff. 161-163.

<sup>46</sup> Evidence of Mr. Boston Long, Add. MSS., 33,030, ff. 191-194.

<sup>47</sup> Undated document in Add. MSS., 33,030, ff. 297-309.

The questions to be considered under the Acts of Trade and Navigation are two. Firstly, could bullion be imported in foreign bottoms? Secondly, could those bottoms be allowed to take away British manufactures? The answer to the first was clearly in the affirmative, for 12 Car. II, c. 18, sec. XV and 15 Car. II, c. 7, sec. VII, expressly exempted bullion from the general provisions requiring transportation of imports in English bottoms. The answer to the second was not so clear. It could be argued that the explicit legalization of the import of bullion in foreign bottoms was an implicit legalization of the export of British manufactures in those same bottoms; but on the whole it was thought safer

to say nothing upon the importation of foreign American produce as a case not before us, and to grant liberty to such ships so importing bullion to return laden, not with the produce of our colonies, but with the goods and manufactures brought there by British ships navigated according to law, which, in truth, will be found for the most part to be the manufactures of Great Britain. That it is safe to grant such an allowance appears in this, that, by granting it, the objects of the Acts of Trade and Navigation are secured.

Thus the delicate question of whether or not the Spaniards could import goods other than bullion was avoided.<sup>48</sup>

The question of the orders given to customs and naval officers was more difficult still. The aforementioned acts of Parliament had created two difficulties, the one financial, the other moral. Customs officers and naval officers had now an increased financial interest in the arrest of smugglers, and they were naturally not prepared easily to abandon prospects of gain. Their conscience was in harmony with their profits, for there was no doubt that they were bound by their oath to enforce the Acts of Trade and prevent breaches of those Acts. It was a necessary consequence:

that whatever the captain of a man of war has lawfully done at sea, whatever he is required to do, whatever he is interested to do, the Customs House officer, bound by the same oath, and tempted by the same interests, may lawfully do, is required to do, and probably will do in the port, if a more powerful interest does not lead him to another object, or preperatory instructions regulate his conduct.

<sup>48</sup> Undated opinion in *ibid.*, 33,030, ff. 312-315.

After an examination of the state of the Spanish trade in 1765 the argument went on:

from these facts it appears pretty clearly that no effectual relief can be given, none that can be relied upon, unless on a full consideration of the law, you can give them such positive instructions as will restrain your officers; and if you can do that, we have no doubt but that they will be effectually obeyed by both.

At law, therefore, the officers were justified in taking the measures they took against the Spanish trade, but they could probably be depended upon to obey their superiors rather than the law if they were given orders that they were not to enforce their instructions equally against all infringers of the Acts of Trade.<sup>49</sup>

From the legal and practical points of view the situation was therefore not very satisfactory. It was perfectly clear that foreign vessels could import bullion into British ports, and fairly clear that they could export British manufactures; but it was by no means apparent that they could import those dyewoods, drugs, mules and horned cattle which had been other items of the Spanish trade, nor that they could export slaves and colonial produce which could not strictly be considered British manufactures. There was a lack of certainty about the situation which did not make for that confidence on which trade flourished. The situation was well summed up in a memorial of the Law Officers to the Board of Trade, dated November, 1765.<sup>50</sup> This argued that the advantages of the Spanish trade could not be denied, and that it was obviously the duty of the government to foster it.

The advantages accruing to Great Britain by this particular branch of trade with Spain, as well as the more immediate and salutary effect it has upon the Colonists themselves, are amongst the first principles in the Knowledge of Commerce, and are so generally understood and acknowledged that it would be no less impertinent than a waste of your Lordships' time for me to go about to prove them.

Admittedly the ideal would be to restrain the trade to an exchange of bullion for British manufactures; but the dyewoods,

<sup>49</sup> Undated opinion in *ibid.*, 33,030, ff. 311-312.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 33,030, ff. 69-73.



drugs and other things brought by the Spaniards were quite useful either to British industry or to the colonists, while the export of colonial produce through such channels gave the British colonists a supply of money with which they could purchase British manufactures. Hence it appeared undesirable to impose any limitations upon the trade.

It was obvious that the trade ought to be encouraged, but it was by no means clear how that was to be done. In the first place unnecessary offense to the Court of Spain had to be avoided.

A positive Act of Parliament to declare such a trade legal would probably set the Spanish Court cavilling about the letter of their treaties, and, not succeeding in their Remonstrances, upon taking internal methods to prevent their boats from coming to us. The Law of Spain makes it death to export money; and though this is a law to hedge in the Cuckoos . . . yet a vigorous execution of this law in some instances and *in terrorem*, might lessen much of the number of those who would dare to carry out Bullion at the Risk of their lives, as well as of their money.

At the same time precautions must be taken to prevent widespread and undesirable smuggling being grafted upon the Spanish trade. It must not be forgotten that the recent Acts of Parliament, the too strict execution and mistaken construction of which had put an end to the Spanish trade, had had the laudable intention of preventing frauds in the plantations trade. It would therefore have to be decided:

whether the inconveniences resulting from the non-admission of the Spanish trade are not greater than the inconveniences which did result from the abuses complained of; and if, upon comparison, the former should appear to be the greater, the extension of the Hovering Act to America, which has given the finishing blow to the Spanish trade, should be, if not repealed, at least explained and amended.

If the former seemed to be the greater evil, then orders for the readmission of Spanish vessels ought to be issued as a temporary measure until such time as the good and bad consequences of giving a positive Parliamentary sanction could be maturely considered. A separate memorial urged a de-

claratory provision, that the import of bullion in foreign bottoms was quite legal, be included in some future legislation.<sup>51</sup>

The merchants protested that all this was consideration of the legal basis of a trade which no longer existed. In spite of Lyttleton's new orders, the Spanish trade in Jamaica failed to revive.<sup>52</sup> The West Floridians had developed a thriving trade between Pensacola and New Orleans (which brought no money into the colony), but they had failed to develop any trade with Cuba or New Spain.<sup>53</sup> The merchants continued to affirm that this was because of the seizure of Spanish vessels, but the seizures took place only in their own imaginations.<sup>54</sup> The Jamaican merchants, when it had been proven that the alleged seizures in their waters were mere myths, changed their grounds and charged that the bad state of the trade was due to the actions of William Murray, a naval officer in charge of the entry of Spanish ships into Jamaican ports. They alleged that Murray had been demanding excessive and unprecedented fees from Spanish vessels wanting to enter Jamaican harbors, and that, as a result of this, one vessel carrying 80,000 dollars had refused to enter and had taken her cargo to the Dutch islands.<sup>55</sup> Murray, who was said to have demanded 4,000 dollars from the Spaniard, retorted that the merchants had invented the vessel, and that his only charges were one doubloon on entry and 5 per cent on purchases of provisions and sales of cargo. He did not insist on the latter, "for whenever they made any scruple he always left it to them to pay what they pleased."<sup>56</sup> The merchants replied that his "leaving it to the Spaniards" simply meant that he resorted to haggling which had delayed visiting Spaniards as much as twelve days.<sup>57</sup> Lyttleton thought that both Murray and the merchants were too interested to take a very objective view of the

<sup>51</sup> Signed by Yorke and de Grey, November 11, 1765, *ibid.*, 33,030, ff. 47-49.

<sup>52</sup> Lyttleton to Conway, November 3, 1765, C. O., 137/62, f. 145-147; Long, *op. cit.*, II, 197; Edwards, *op. cit.*, I, 238-239.

<sup>53</sup> Johnstone to Halifax, December 29, 1765, C. O., 5/574, pt. iii, ff. 951-955.

<sup>54</sup> *Idem to idem*, November 28, 1765, *ibid.*, 5/574, pt. iii, ff. 902-904.

<sup>55</sup> Raplay to Lyttleton, March 4, 1766, *ibid.*, 137/62, ff. 167-168; Lyttleton to Messrs. Turnell and Hibbert, February 10, 1766, *ibid.*, f. 172.

<sup>56</sup> Murray to Lyttleton, March 13, 1766, *ibid.*, 137/62, ff. 180-181; Trower to Lyttleton, March 13, 1766, *ibid.*, f. 182.

<sup>57</sup> Raplay to Lyttleton, March 4, 1766, *ibid.*, 137/62, ff. 176-177.

situation. He dismissed one official who had been guilty of extortion, but said that some fees were necessary. What the merchants wanted was that vessels should not be visited or examined in any manner, which would simply allow the French or Dutch to trade with Jamaica under Spanish colors.<sup>58</sup>

A different explanation of the decline of the Spanish trade, ascribing it to the less personal forces of economic law, was offered by Joseph Salvador, a Portuguese Jew who had a very considerable interest in the bullion trade and whose advice on the financing of the recent war had often been asked by Pitt and Newcastle. He argued that the decline was due neither to addleheaded Parliamentarians nor to evil naval officers, but that the Spanish-American market, like all other markets, could be over-supplied.<sup>59</sup> A glut had been produced by the tremendous quantity of goods which had entered the Spanish colonies through Cuba during the period of the British occupation. The *flota* which went out in 1763 found the market very poor and had difficulty in disposing of its goods at any profit, while its cargoes aggravated the situation.<sup>60</sup> There was thus little incentive for the Spaniards to seek goods in Jamaica, and equally little point in the British taking them to the Main. Then, too, Jamaica shared in the primary post-war boom of 1763 which sent English exports rocketing to a new high of £16,514,404, and was badly hit by the secondary post-war depression of 1764-1769, one of the worst of the whole eighteenth century. The vigor of the laments of the Jamaican merchants over the disappearance of the Spanish trade are, perhaps, partly to be accounted for by their general sufferings from the depression. They were no more likely to be cool and unprejudiced in their examination of the economic situation than their neighbors of the mainland colonies who were hit by the same slump.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Lyttleton to Conway, March 13, 1766, *ibid.*, 137/62, ff. 167-168.

<sup>59</sup> Salvador to f, January 28, 1766, Add. MSS., 38,339, ff. 225-227.

<sup>60</sup> Porten to Hardy, November 8, 1765, S. P. F., Spain, 94/171.

<sup>61</sup> The figures published in Anderson, *op. cit.*, IV, 1, show the trade movement very clearly. Anderson's claim that he based his statistics on official sources has been well substantiated by my own investigation of the Spanish, Portuguese and colonial trades in the Public Record Office. The general unreliability of eighteenth-century statistics must not be forgotten, but the cyclical trend seems to me to be very well established.



The government was thus faced with a number of explanations for the decline of the Spanish trade, some of which were conflicting and few of which were well established. All that was certain was that the trade was thought to be of considerable importance and that it was by no means so vigorous as it had been. Early in 1766 the government therefore determined to hold a further investigation. Certain persons were summoned as witnesses before a Parliamentary Committee, while Salvador, possibly because he was a Jew, was sent a written interrogatory to which he was asked to reply.<sup>62</sup> From statements presented by these persons some evidence of the Jamaican Spanish trade as it operated in the 1760's can be constructed.

According to Salvador, trade between Jamaica and the Spanish colonies developed comparatively late, only expanding to considerable size during the War of the Spanish Succession. It had increased further during the Seven Years' War because of the incontestable nature of English command of the sea. Salvador argued that some contraction after the war was inevitable, unless the British government was prepared to support the trade by force. The renewed sailing of the *flota* meant that the Spanish colonists had less need of trade with the Jamaicans, and it meant that they had less money to take to Jamaica because of the amount drawn off by the *flota*.<sup>63</sup> He said that the general tendency was for the percentage of the trade carried in Spanish bottoms to increase, although he felt that the West India Committee had overemphasized and over-estimated this. The greater part of the trade was still carried on:

by the English who have by permission carried on the Negro; much by our smugglers on their coasts; a considerable part by our men of war who go down on errands and pretexts, and even protect by all prudent means the smugglers from the Guarda Costas.

Since the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle Spanish ships have come to Jamaica, but I am convinced there are more of our vessels hovering

<sup>62</sup> List of 6 queries for Mr. Salvador, Add. MSS., 38,339, f. 228; list of 7 queries for Mr. Salvador with his answers, *ibid.*, 38,373, ff. 130-131.

<sup>63</sup> In 1765 the *flota* brought nearly 10,000,000 dollars back to Spain; enclosure in Porten to Conway, July 29, 1765, S. P. F., Spain, 94/171.

on theirs, by means of the Irish Roman Catholics and the Jews who talk Spanish as natives. I am convinced many vessels pass between both states on short trips, who dexterously manage to belong to each nation, as it suits them best.

He thought that few French and Dutch were now engaged in the trade, although the latter still sent considerable quantities of goods into the Spanish empire through St. Eustatius. The French were handicapped because the Spaniards had a decided preference for English bills of exchange.

In Jamaica, therefore, the day of the English interloper was not yet past. The Florida merchants, however, argued that if they were to have any trade with the Spaniards it would have to be carried in Spanish bottoms, for there was no possibility:<sup>64</sup>

of carrying on this commerce, but by the Spaniards themselves, who are best acquainted with their own Officers, Bays, Customs and Laws. Such people can be deem'd as Boats carrying our Goods to the Shore, and bringing their Produce in return.

What the Floridians wanted was not the protection of British warships upon the Spanish coast but advantages which would induce Spanish vessels to visit Pensacola.

There was universal agreement that the bulk of the trade was carried on in boats of very small tonnage. The bullion which was the principal produce of the traffic was partly in coined silver, partly in ingots. The latter was preferred, for it "answered best for profits" and for "conveniency of running."<sup>65</sup> Much of the bullion which was brought to the island was brought to escape the payment of the *quinto*, rather than for the purchase of goods. In such cases the owners of the bullion took letters of exchange drawn upon London. When goods were taken they consisted for the most part of slaves and manufactured articles, although colonial produce was occasionally taken. The manufactures were not exclusively of English origin, for those of other European countries were also sold and there was a strong demand for East India goods.

<sup>64</sup> Sir John Lindsay to Admiralty, n.d., but enclosed in Johnstone to Halifax, February 19, 1765, C. O., 5/574, pt. i, f. 277.

<sup>65</sup> Salvador to f, January 28, 1766, Add. MSS., 38,339, ff. 225-227.

Salvador expected the latter demand to diminish, because of the removal of restrictions on the Manila-Acapulco trade, and he also thought that the market for British linens would decline with the re-establishment of regular supplies through the *flota*. He said that the bulk of the manufactures disposed of through the trade were British woollens, although there was also a steady demand for English cottons and hardware.

Other evidence was offered by Mr. Kelly, a prominent New York merchant, and by Mr. Richard Oswald, a Scots merchant with interests in both the North American and West Indian trade.<sup>66</sup> Kelly said that New York had developed a profitable direct trade with the Spaniards in Habana, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo. Throughout 1764 and 1765 this trade had been in a moribund condition, and Kelly thought that this was only partly due to recent British legislation. He himself was of the opinion that the decline was due to the fact that "the Spaniards are now out of temper on the reduction of the Havana." There had been increased activity by *guarda costas* who refused to allow British vessels to approach the Spanish coasts, and it was possible that stiffer measures had been taken against the Spanish colonists.<sup>67</sup> If Kelly was right on this point, then he was pointing to something which could not very well be affected by British regulations or legislation. Oswald's evidence was less interesting, for he confined himself to a recapitulation of the connection between the Spanish trade and the North American money trade, stressing the importance of this constant influx of new supplies of the precious metals in keeping commerce flowing smoothly.<sup>68</sup>

From the British manufacturer's point of view the evidence given was limited. Salvador argued that from this standpoint the situation of the contraband trade in 1765 was not one which need create any alarm, for losses through the decline in volume of the direct trade sales would be countered by an increase in the volume of sales through Cadiz. He

<sup>66</sup> See the short account of Oswald in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLII, 329-330.

<sup>67</sup> Evidence of Mr. Kelly before the Committee of the Whole House, February 12, 1766, Add. MSS., 33,030, f. 133.

<sup>68</sup> Evidence of Mr. Richard Oswald before the Committee of the Whole House, February 17, 1766, *ibid.*, 33,030, f. 196.



scoffed at rumors of the trade being damaged by special preferences to the French.<sup>69</sup> Some of the British merchants, however, were unable to regard the situation with the same equanimity. The Manchester merchants, for example, had presented a petition to the Board of Trade in 1765, stating that their trade was stagnating and ascribing this in large part to the restrictions placed on the Spanish trade.<sup>70</sup> Mr. Robert Hamilton, who gave evidence before the Committee of the Whole House on February 13, 1766, said that Manchester's trade with the West Indies had greatly declined since 1763. Many men found themselves with no work to do, and there had been acute distress in the whole Manchester area. The notes of Hamilton's evidence are not very clear, but he apparently thought the West Indies trade far more important for Manchester than the trade to Spain and Portugal. The former market took large quantities of cottons and cotton velvets, whereas the latter took only a few velvets and oddments. He was, however, explicit in ascribing the decline of the trade to the measures of 1763 and 1764. He said that there had been frequent rumors of naval officers being ordered to connive at the traffic and that "trade had revived for a day or so as such reports prevailed and were then denied."<sup>71</sup>

All this information was of value, but it did not present the British government with a solution for the problem of how to revive the Spanish trade. Obviously the trade had to be revived, and preferably placed on a basis which would guarantee it against interruptions such as those recently experienced. As a market for British manufactures and as a source of money supply for the West Indian and mainland colonies alike the trade had to be protected. At the same time measures were needed which would partly prevent, partly legalize the extensive contraband trade of the mainland colonies with the non-British West Indies. What was to be done?

The answer which was found was not particularly original, although it was new in British commercial legislation. Camp-

<sup>69</sup> Answer to Query 5, *ibid.*, 38,339, f. 131.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 38,339, ff. 272-274.

<sup>71</sup> Evidence of Mr. Robert Hamilton, *ibid.*, 33,030, f. 155.

bell Dalrymple had suggested that Dominica be made a free port as soon as it was acquired by the British, and had defined "free port" as "a port where goods of any part of the world could be imported duty free, provided that they were imported in British bottoms."<sup>72</sup> A more frequent use of the term meant ports which were designated in legislative enactment as ports where foreign vessels were allowed to enter for the purpose of exchanging certain enumerated goods for others on payment of merely nominal duties. It was noteworthy that many of the people who called for the extension of the Spanish trade in 1762 and 1763 did not repeat the demands of earlier generations for naval protection or for an Asiento, but concentrated on suggestions for free ports to which the Spaniards could be encouraged to bring their goods. Boston Long, in his evidence before the Parliamentary committee in February, 1766, did not directly mention free ports, but his constant refusal to admit that the trade could any longer be carried on under the old conditions of mere connivance clearly pointed in that direction. Martin, a planter of the Leeward Islands, had suggested a free port for Tobago,<sup>73</sup> and a pamphlet already quoted had proposed one for the Grenadines.<sup>74</sup> Johnstone and the House of Assembly of West Florida had suggested that a free port or ports would be the most efficacious method of securing a prosperous Spanish trade for the newly acquired colony.<sup>75</sup> Other people were thinking along the same lines.<sup>76</sup>

Such ports were no novelty. The Dutch had had one in St. Eustatius since 1737, while the English had occasionally opened some of their West Indian ports as a temporary expedient.<sup>77</sup> In 1763 the Danes opened the ports of St. Thomas

<sup>72</sup> Dalrymple to Bute, February 27, 1763, *ibid.*, 38,200, ff. 26-266.

<sup>73</sup> Martin to Bute, July 15, 1763, North MSS., B 6, ff. 281-286.

<sup>74</sup> *Impartial Observations*, p. 15.

<sup>75</sup> Johnstone to Halifax, October 31, 1764 and February 19, 1765, C. O., 5/574, pt. i, ff. 117-119, 233-247; *idem to idem*, December 29, 1765, *ibid.*, 5/574, pt. iii, ff. 951-955.

<sup>76</sup> *Thoughts on the expediency of opening the ports of Dominique, by a person who resided many years on St. Eustatius*, Add. MSS., 33,030, ff. 253-257; and see note 21 above.

<sup>77</sup> F. W. Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763* (New Haven, 1917), pp. 225, 279-280.

and St. John,<sup>78</sup> while from 1763-1765 the French began to experiment along such lines in the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe.<sup>79</sup> The Spaniards created no free ports, but they did move towards freer trade with the publication of the edict of October 16, 1765, which ended the Cadiz monopoly. All of these moves were watched by the British government with close interest. Hertford, sent as ambassador to France in 1763, was ordered to report on French experiments in detail,<sup>80</sup> while Rochford in Madrid was instructed to watch the results of the edict of 1765.<sup>81</sup> Hence both foreign experience and the advice of nationals was in the possession of the ministers who formulated British policy in 1766.

In Parliament the question of the free ports and of the Spanish trade seems to have been handled with little discussion, probably because it was pushed into the background by the more momentous issue of the Stamp Act and the seditious movements in North America. Grenville was attacked with some vigor as being responsible for the decline of the Spanish trade, and he replied with equal heat:<sup>82</sup>

I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel by which alone North America used to be supplied with cash for remittances to this country. I defy any man to produce such orders or instructions. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by Act of Parliament.

Chatham found Grenville's defense unconvincing and continued to affirm that he thought him responsible for the interruption of the trade, but he seems to have produced no evidence in support of his statement.<sup>83</sup>

Records of any other debate are very scanty. Mr. John

<sup>78</sup> Bagatz, *op. cit.*, p. 138; W. Westergaard, *The Danish West Indies, 1671-1917* (New York, 1917), p. 250.

<sup>79</sup> L-P. May, *Histoire économique de la Martinique* (Paris, 1930), pp. 154-161; "Le Mercier de la Rivière, Intendant des Iles du Vent, 1759-1764," *Revue de l'histoire économique et sociale*, XX, No. 1 (1932), 44-74; C. A. Banbuck, *Histoire de la Martinique, 1635-1789* (Paris, 1935), pp. 267-270.

<sup>80</sup> Separate and Private Instructions for Francis Seymour, Earl of Hertford, September 29, 1763, S. P. F., France, 78/268.

<sup>81</sup> Conway to Rochford, October 28, 1765, S. P. F., Spain, 94/172.

<sup>82</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, IV, 293.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 296.



Huske, the American-born member for Malden, Essex, drew up proposals for the erection of free ports on a very ambitious scale, but it is unlikely that his scheme was ever produced in Parliament. He proposed that:<sup>84</sup>

for remedying the recited inconveniences and mischiefs, and for extending our trade with foreign colonies in America far beyond whatever it was in its most flourishing state, it is humbly proposed that an Act may be passed next Sessions of Parliament making and constituting Port Royal in Jamaica, Basse Terre in Grenada, Bridgetown in Barbadoes, the Bays of Prince Rupert and Roses in Dominica, Mobile and Pensacola in West Florida and Augustine's in East Florida, New York City in the province of New York, Halifax in Nova Scotia, and Portsmouth in New Hampshire Free Ports to all Nations for all American produce and for black slaves from Africa, and for all produce and manufactures legally imported from Europe.

Huske proposed that foreign bottoms should be allowed to take to these ports the produce of non-British American colonies only, and that re-export was to be solely in British bottoms. Produce of foreign American colonies, with the exception of molasses, could be shipped into the British colonies at these ports only, and was to be subject to the normal processes of confiscation if it entered elsewhere. Molasses could enter at any port and was not to pay a duty of more than one penny per gallon. The foreigners could export in exchange rice, any non-enumerated produce, European goods which had been legally introduced into America and Negroes. They were to pay only those harbor dues and customs charges paid by British subjects. Dyestuffs, some drugs and cotton wool were to be shipped only to Great Britain.

This was an imaginative scheme which attempted a solution of several problems. It tried to solve the difficulties of the Spanish trade, and at the same time sought to create an outlet for the commercial energies of the American colonists by giving them legitimate channels through which they could exchange their lumber and provisions for supplies of bullion and cheap molasses. Unfortunately Huske's plan, as it stood, never had a chance, for there were too many interests op-

<sup>84</sup> Mr. Huske's scheme for free ports in America, Add. MSS., 33,030, ff. 318-323.

posed to it. The West India Committee was consulted on the free port project and on May 4, 1766, agreed to the establishment of free ports in Jamaica and Dominica only, although they thought that even this might well be postponed until the next year.<sup>85</sup> On May 8 they changed their minds and agreed to press for the passage of the necessary legislation in that session of Parliament.<sup>86</sup> They made a functional distinction between the two ports proposed. That in Jamaica was to be "for the relief of the Spanish trade . . . in Spanish bottoms," while the one in Dominica was to be for "goods of foreign American growth, etc." The provisions for Jamaica were simple and seem to have caused little discussion, but those for Dominica occasioned some disagreement.

The bill for the establishment of the free ports came to its first reading on May 15, and the Committee of Ways and Means was ordered to consider in what manner the expenses of establishing the ports could be defrayed and to consider in detail duties to be levied in Dominica.<sup>87</sup> The Committee did its work rapidly and reported on May 16, proposing duties which were subsequently adopted.<sup>88</sup> Some members wanted a limitation of 50 tons upon the size of foreign bottoms, but 100 tons was finally agreed upon. Various proposals for shipment directly to Europe south of Cape Finisterre were discussed, as also were proposals for the limitation of the entry of various products into England.<sup>89</sup> On May 26 the completed bill, having passed its two readings, was sent to the Lords, where it was accepted without amendment. On June 4 it received the royal assent.<sup>90</sup>

The provisions of the Act<sup>91</sup> were simple. From November

<sup>85</sup> Agreement of the West India Committee, May 4, 1766, Add. MSS., 33,030, f. 243.

<sup>86</sup> Agreement of the West India Committee, May 8, 1766, Add. MSS., 33,030, f. 245.

<sup>87</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, IV, 356.

<sup>88</sup> Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, XVI, 225-226.

<sup>89</sup> Add. MSS., 33,030, f. 251.

<sup>90</sup> *Debates*, IV, 357; *Commons Journals*, XXX, 843.

<sup>91</sup> *An Act for opening and establishing certain ports in the islands of Jamaica and Dominica for the more free importation and exportation of certain goods and merchandises, for granting certain duties to defray the expence of opening, maintaining and securing said Ports, for ascertaining the duties to be paid upon*

1, 1766, Prince Rupert's Bay and Roseau in Dominica and Kingston, Savannah la Mar, Montego Bay or Saint Lucia in Jamaica were to be declared open as free ports. Foreign vessels of not more than one deck coming from American ports could import into Dominica any American produce of non-British origin, with the exception of tobacco. For the Jamaican ports the list was extended to include sugar, coffee, pimiento, ginger and molasses. Foreigners could export slaves and any goods of British origin which had been legally entered, with the exception of naval stores, tobacco and American iron. From Dominica sugar could be shipped to European ports south of Cape Finisterre without first touching at a port in Great Britain. All other goods for Europe were to be shipped directly to England. All wool, cotton, indigo, cochineal, all kinds of dyes and drugs, hides, skins, hair, fur, pot or pearl ashes, whale fins and raw silk were to be sent only to Britain. Foreign sugars and rum could not be sent to other British possessions and were to be sent to Britain for re-export only. If they were released for domestic consumption they were to pay the normal heavy duties on foreign produce. Duties charged were comparatively light. Every slave brought to Jamaica or leaving Dominica was to pay thirty shillings. Every barrel of beef or pork, firkin of butter, or hogshead of sugar, coffee or cacao entering Dominica was to pay sixpence. Finally it was enacted that Dominica pay for its privileges with a disqualification. After January 1, 1767, all American produce entering Great Britain from thence was to be accounted of foreign origin, with the exception of properly certified rum and sugar. The West India interest had demanded this safeguard.<sup>92</sup>

The Free Port Act of 1766 was thus intended to kill several birds with one stone. It was intended to meet the complaints of the Jamaican merchants and restore the vanished trade with the Spanish colonies, but it was also designed to legalize

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*the import of goods from the said island of Dominica into this kingdom, and for securing the duties upon goods imported from the said island into any other British colony*, 6 Geo. III, c. 49. Copies of the act are not easy to find, although it was twice published in popular editions in 1766.

<sup>92</sup> *House of Commons Journal*, XXX, 835.



the trade of the mainland colonists in the produce of the foreign West Indies and to encourage the trade in such materials as cotton, for which English industry had an ever-increasing demand. Unfortunately its limitations guaranteed that its success would not be great. New York merchants presented a petition to Parliament in 1767 in which they pointed out some of the weaknesses of the Act, stressing the fact that the insistence upon the export of many products only to Britain made it difficult for them to obtain anything at all in return for products which they took to the free ports.<sup>93</sup> Under such circumstances they were practically compelled to carry on their old contraband trade with the foreign West Indies. Nor did the Jamaican merchants find the new legislation any more satisfactory from their point of view. In spite of the opening of the free ports, complaints of the decay of the Spanish trade still continued.<sup>94</sup> The favorite explanation of the merchants was that the Free Port Act had contained provisions for the keeping of a record of all foreign vessels entering British ports and of the amount of bullion which they brought. Copies of these entries were sent to Spain, where they were used for obtaining punishment of those traders who were thereby proved to have violated Spanish law. Bryan Edwards<sup>95</sup> claimed that he had a letter from a merchant in Cartagena de las Indias which gave several cases where this had occurred. Governor Dalling said that Spanish Americans certainly feared that the detailed information so obtained might be used for such a purpose.<sup>96</sup> The government therefore decided to withdraw the orders.

When the expected revival of the Spanish trade did not take place, the Jamaicans began to revert to some of their earlier explanations. They once more ascribed their misfortunes to the ill-advised seizures of January, 1762, which were said to have destroyed all Spanish confidence in English good faith. However, the Spaniards had been ill-treated on sev-

<sup>93</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, IV, 499.

<sup>94</sup> Lyttleton to Conway, December 12, 1766, C. O., 137/62, ff. 156-157; Trelawney to Shelburne, February 27, 1768, *ibid.*, 137/63, ff. 69-72; Long, *op. cit.*, II, 197-198; Edwards, *op. cit.*, I, 239-240.

<sup>95</sup> Edwards, *op. cit.*, I, 240; *cf.* Long, *op. cit.*, II, 197-198.

<sup>96</sup> Dalling to Dartmouth, April 11, 1773, C. O., 137/68.

eral occasions before 1762 and had always returned to Jamaican ports for further supplies of slaves and manufactured goods, so that this was not a wholly convincing argument. More impressive was the theory that the tightening of action against infringers of the commercial code by the Spanish government was responsible for the lack of Spanish customers. The British government had foreseen the possibility of the Spanish taking action to nullify the inducements of the Free Port Act, and Gray, who went out as ambassador in 1767, was ordered to observe any such measures they might take.<sup>97</sup> The Spaniards had certainly watched the passing of the act with great interest, considered that it was designed for the further commercial penetration of their empire, and had expressed themselves as determined that their nationals should take no advantage of it.<sup>98</sup> But Spanish repression of contraband was always very spasmodic, and the trade was certainly not ended in 1766.

The basic truth seems to be that after 1763 British contraband trade with Spanish America changed its channels rather than declined permanently in volume. If the size of the trade between Jamaica and the Spanish Main can be judged from the volume of her English exports, then it is true that the island did not again reach the 1763 level until 1771, which was a general boom year. The decline between 1763 and 1765 was probably due, as Salvador said, to the over-stocking of the market in 1763, but some of the complaints after 1765 were due to the fact that reviving Spanish trade had new channels through which it could flow. After 1766 Pensacola succeeded in establishing a fair degree of trade with the Spaniards in Habana, in spite of the hostility of the *guarda costas*. In 1767 the merchants of Pensacola persuaded the authorities to send a war vessel to Habana on the pretense of official business, but really with the intention of making contact with the Habana merchants, a mission which was accomplished despite the watchfulness of the Spanish officials. A little later a Spanish vessel put into Pensacola and bought

<sup>97</sup> Instructions for Gray, June 20, 1767, S. P. F., Spain, 94/177.

<sup>98</sup> Ossun to Choiseul, February 7, 1767, AAE., CP., Espagne, 548, ff. 122-137.

\$30,000 worth of goods.<sup>99</sup> Though rather fitful, Spanish trade with Pensacola continued after this in sufficient volume to warrant the appointment of a pilot to guide foreign vessels into the harbor.<sup>100</sup> The merchants thought that things would go even better if they were allowed to establish a free port in the colony. They protested against the discrimination which gave Jamaica a free port and allowed them no such privilege,<sup>101</sup> but their request was ignored.

It is also possible that Dominica took some of Jamaica's Spanish trade. After the establishment of the free ports the island was visited by as many as 595 foreign vessels in one year, but there is no indication of how many of these vessels were Spanish.<sup>102</sup> Negroes, saltfish, dry and salt provisions were exchanged for American produce (principally sugar, molasses, cotton, cacao, coffee and dyewoods) and for cash.<sup>103</sup> It was said that a better selection of Negroes was to be had in Dominica than in Jamaica, because foreign buyers did not have to face quite so much local competition. It is certainly true that the impediments in the way of trade with the latter island were greater, because the list of articles which could not be imported in foreign bottoms was longer. Hence the Jamaica planters' fear of foreign competition helped to spoil the Spanish colonial market for the wares of the Jamaica merchant. The planters never wholeheartedly approved of the free ports, and in 1773 they asked for their abolition on the grounds that they were used as a cover for widespread smuggling.<sup>104</sup> Their pleas went unheeded, for the later extension of the free ports seems to show that the government considered them, on the whole, successful.<sup>105</sup>

Competition also came from other sources. Grenada, for example, never seems to have developed any very flourishing

<sup>99</sup> Montfort Browne to the Board of Trade, September 29, 1767, C. O., 5/575, ff. 305-307.

<sup>100</sup> *Idem to idem*, June 30, 1768, C. O., 5/577, ff. 19-20.

<sup>101</sup> Petition of the House of Assembly of West Florida, November 22, 1766, C. O., 5/575, ff. 217-231.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 76/4.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 76/4.

<sup>104</sup> Ragatz, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>105</sup> D. B. Goebel, "British Trade to the Spanish Colonies, 1796-1823," *American Historical Review*, XLIII, No. 2 (January, 1938), 288-320.



trade with the Spaniards, in spite of the prophecies made in 1763. Yet some trade was developed, principally with Trinidad. In 1764 Grenada traders used such forceful methods in that region that the Governor was ordered to punish those responsible.<sup>106</sup> In 1767 the Governor himself was guilty of an indiscretion which caused a diplomatic scandal. In his desire to encourage the Spanish trade he rashly gave passports to three vessels, authorizing them to trade with the Spanish Main. The vessels were captured, although their crews escaped, and the incriminating documents fell into Spanish hands. This was documentary evidence that a responsible British official had been deliberately encouraging contraband trade with Spanish subjects, and Hillsborough had a hard time explaining matters to the Spanish ambassador.<sup>107</sup> Even the Turks Islands had some Spanish trade.<sup>108</sup>

However, there are still many questions which are vague and doubtful in the story of the contraband traffic between the British and the Spanish colonies. The only fact which is certain is that the years following the Peace of Paris were a period of considerable disruption in the history of that trade. It was affected by the consequences of the occupation of Habana, by unfortunate British legislation, and by general unrest in the British Empire. At the same time the redistribution of territory made by the Peace of Paris and the reforms attempted by the Spaniards forced the trade into new and more scattered channels. The British government showed the importance it attached to the trade by the prompt measures which it took in an attempt to remedy complaints. The changes which occurred in the trade were a sign that Jamaica had passed its greatest days, rather than an indication that the British were losing their grip on the illicit market.<sup>109</sup> The Spanish ambassador continued to protest against the

<sup>106</sup> Masserano to Halifax, August 9, 1764, and Halifax's reply to August 10 in S. P. F., Spain, 94/167.

<sup>107</sup> Masserano to Shelburne, October 27, 1768, *ibid.*, 94/180; Weymouth to Hillsborough, December 7, 1769, *ibid.*, 94/182; Hillsborough to Melville, November 28, 1769, C. O., 101/11.

<sup>108</sup> Forrest to Stephens, September 9, 1769, C. O., 137/64.

<sup>109</sup> The decline was noted by contemporaries, e.g., Long, *op. cit.*, II, 121; *The Present State of the British Empire*, p. 280.

activities of British smugglers,<sup>110</sup> and every *flota* brought to Cadiz its quota of Britons who had been taken by the *guarda costas*.<sup>111</sup> The trade might change its channels and its structure, going more through Spanish intermediaries and less through British; but much of the trade was still carried in British bottoms and the bulk of the manufactured goods carried were still British.

ALLAN CHRISTELOW.

British Supply Council,  
Washington, D. C.

<sup>110</sup> Masserano to Halifax, August 9, 1764, S. P. F., Spain, 94/167; Harris to Weymouth, December 7, 1769, *ibid.*, 94/182.

<sup>111</sup> The British ambassadors recorded over 100 such arrivals between 1763 and 1771.

## PRECURSORS OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION OF 1910<sup>1</sup>

Popular belief to the contrary, the Revolution of 1910, resulting in the overthrow of the Díaz dictatorship, was not a spontaneous popular uprising of the public with no intellectual preparation other than that given by Madero and his followers. Since 1900 there had been elements working against the dictatorship; although at the time it was made to appear as though the men involved were little better than bandits, in reality the revolutionaries were, in the main, high-minded men with a definite socio-economic program to be put in force after the triumph of the revolution. Most of them were members of the lower middle class, who had had ample opportunity to come in contact with the most evil aspects of the Díaz regime. They looked forward to a Mexican society in which all of the people would have at least the chance to become contributing members, instead of being held back by lack of education and grafting politicians. Theirs was a high-minded and laudable purpose, but a little too idealistic for the times. They realized the difficulties facing them in their work, but were determined to carry it through to the end in spite of all hazards; they were not able to complete the work themselves, but in a large part it was completed for them in the Constitution of 1917 and the legislation stemming from it. A number of small revolutionary outbreaks occurred which, if we use military success as the only criterion for judgment, were abortive and unimportant, but they were portentous of more important things to come. It is true that many of the leaders of these first movements were not in sympathy

<sup>1</sup> All of the source material used in the preparation of this paper was made available through the generosity of José C. Valadés, who gave access to his valuable collection in Mexico City. Most of the material used is rare and can be found in no other single collection. The letters cited, unless otherwise indicated, are either in the original or are copies of the originals. The opportunity for this research was given through a travel grant from the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State.



with the later Madero Revolution,<sup>2</sup> but some of them, including Jesús Flores Magón, Antonio I. Villarreal, and Juan Sarabia, did join the movement of Madero;<sup>3</sup> the revolutionary stage was set so that Madero could capitalize on the situation and win the early support of a large faction of the old revolutionaries and Liberals.

The most outstanding man among the group of leaders, and around whom revolved most of the movement, was Ricardo Flores Magón, idealist and anarchist who fought for the welfare of the proletariat until he died in Leavenworth Penitentiary in 1922. Ricardo, with his brother Jesús, started the fight in January, 1901, when his newspaper, *Regeneración*, took on a political aspect. Persecution was not long delayed, however, for in April, 1901, Ricardo and Jesús were jailed, with the suppression of *Regeneración* being decreed the following October.<sup>4</sup> During the next two years Ricardo was repeatedly arrested and persecuted<sup>5</sup> to such a degree that he decided to leave Mexico and go to the United States. He arrived on January 11, 1904, going to Chicago, where *Regeneración* reappeared in November of that year. Because the Díaz government was not content to allow him to continue his work unmolested and because he was repeatedly attacked in his new home by agents of the Díaz government, he left Chicago for St. Louis where, in February, 1905, he began his publications anew.<sup>6</sup> In St. Louis the persecutions continued when he was arrested along with Juan Sarabia and his brother Enrique, who had now joined him.<sup>7</sup> Fearing that he would get no rest in the United States he went to Canada, but soon returned to the United States of his own volition, to be closer to Mexico where a revolt was in the offing.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Hilario C. Salas, probably to C. D. Padua, dated October 18, 1910. Also, "El Partido Liberal y el Partido Anti-Reeleccionista," in *Regeneración*, Los Angeles, November 5, 1910; in this column Ricardo Flores Magón gives the differences between the parties.

<sup>3</sup> *Regeneración*, May 18, and August 11, 1911. This weekly paper was the official organ of Flores Magón, its place of publication changing as he moved.

<sup>4</sup> Jesús Flores Magón to Librado Rivera, January 14, 1924. He said that a number of attempts were made on his life.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; also, R. Flores Magón to Harry Weinberger, May 9, 1921.

<sup>6</sup> R. Flores Magón to Harry Weinberger, May 9, 1921.

<sup>7</sup> R. Flores Magón to Francisco Miranda, November 15, 1905.

<sup>8</sup> R. Flores Magón to Harry Weinberger, May 9, 1921.

During this time in which he was on the move, Ricardo Flores Magón completed his program for the *Partido liberal mexicano*; and, on July 1, 1906, a manifesto was issued by the junta<sup>9</sup> of the Partido, in which the aims and program were given. The immediate aim was the overthrow of the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, but in addition,

. . . the Liberal Party declares that its aspirations are those which are set forth in this program, the realization of which is the strict obligation of the government that shall be established after the fall of the dictatorship and it is also the necessary duty of the members of the Liberal Party to see to the fulfillment of this program.

The points of this program are not and cannot be anything else than general bases for the establishment of a truly democratic system of government. They are the essence of the principal aspirations of the nation and respond to the most important and urgent needs of the Fatherland.<sup>10</sup>

The program outlined by the party was remarkably comprehensive and progressive, showing a keen insight into the ills of the nation and the means of remedying them. The aims of the party were not purely, or even primarily, of a political nature, for politics was considered only as a means of gaining the desired ends of socio-economic improvements. Included in the program were constitutional reforms concerning the army, the military courts, the terms of office, and increased responsibility in the performance of duty by the public officials; provisions for improving and broadening public instruction, making it more nearly universal; provisions for more stringent control of the Catholic clergy and enforcement of the Laws of Reform; a general plan for the reconstruction of the tax system, making it more equitable; plans for minimum wages and maximum hours for laborers, as well as better working conditions and abolition of child

<sup>9</sup> Ricardo Flores Magón was president of the junta, Juan Sarabia vice-president, Antonio I. Villarreal secretary, Enrique Flores Magón treasurer, and Manuel Sarabia and Librado Rivera the *vocales*.

<sup>10</sup> *Programa del Partido Liberal*; the copy used for reference here is one of the printed originals. It and the accompanying *Manifiesto a la Nación* are reprinted in Francisco Naranjo, *Diccionario biográfico revolucionario* (Mexico, D.F., 1935), pp. 249-263.

labor; and a broad land policy which would force the land-owners either to make the land produce or to have the uncultivated areas revert to the government so that these sections could be parcelled out to the landless.

In a short time the Liberal Party took on the aspect of increased growth, with the first auxiliary junta in the United States, the *Obreros Libres*, being organized at Morenci, Arizona, on July 3, 1906, with Praxedis G. Guerrero as president.<sup>11</sup> The party had been organized before the promulgation of the program, and Guerrero had been appointed as special emissary to Mexico to organize groups throughout the country to get ready for the start of the revolution that was to break in the fall of 1906.<sup>12</sup> Little groups started to work more actively in various parts of Mexico, with the result that in the states of Chihuahua, Sonora, and Vera Cruz all was made ready for an armed outbreak. By mid-July it appeared to Ricardo Flores Magón that the movement was gaining headway rapidly, for he said,

The union is getting stronger every day, in Mexico as well as the southern region of the United States, where thousands of compatriots reside.<sup>13</sup>

No definite date was set for the outbreak of the revolution,<sup>14</sup> but the small group of revolutionaries was busy night and day perfecting plans for a simultaneous insurrection all over the Republic of Mexico.

In the meantime, active work had been going on in the state of Vera Cruz in organizing the Liberal Party for, in 1905, clubs had been organized in Chinameca, Puerto México, and the city of Vera Cruz. Hilario C. Salas, one of the most active members of the party in the state, was sent as a delegate to assist the Junta Organizadora at St. Louis in the drafting of the party program. Díaz, however, was no more

<sup>11</sup> Manifesto by the *Obreros Libres*, July 3, 1906. Manifesto by the *Junta Organizadora* of the Liberal Party, July 14, 1906.

<sup>12</sup> Junta to Guerrero, June 29, 1906.

<sup>13</sup> R. Flores Magón to P. G. Guerrero, July 14, 1906.

<sup>14</sup> In an undated open letter, Flores Magón said that the plans were for late November, 1906. C. D. Padua, in *Movimiento revolucionario en Vera Cruz* (Cuernavaca, 1936) said early in 1907.



anxious to have the Salas coterie active than he had been to have Flores Magón propagandizing, so he gave orders to his *jefes políticos* to suppress the clubs in any manner possible. Meetings were broken up and the members arrested, but periodical gatherings were held, nevertheless, and the revolutionary planning went on.<sup>15</sup>

As the time drew near, Ricardo Flores Magón and the other members of the junta approached the Mexican border in September, 1906,<sup>16</sup> to inaugurate the insurrection to overthrow the Díaz regime. The time was not propitious in that month, however, for it was apparent that in some manner the government had received warning that there was an impending outbreak and was taking steps to meet whatever threat might be made. Flores Magón, who was essentially cautious in many ways, realized that an abortive uprising would be a terrible blow to the cause, and in view of the conditions wanted to postpone the opening shot. With this in mind he wired Salas in Vera Cruz, telling him of his knowledge and warning him that it would be best to hide for a short while until conditions were more promising.

The Vera Cruz revolutionist, however, was of no mind to go into hiding and see his organization die from want of action, so he decided to take immediate steps, in the hope that the remainder of the country would follow his lead. Gathering his best followers around him, he drew up a manifesto to the nation, in which he summarized the defects of the Díaz regime, declared that the Liberal Party was in arms against the government, and called on all loyal Mexicans to aid in the movement. The manifesto was a sane, though biased, presentation of the views of the Liberals, ending with the note that all foreigners would be respected as long as they remained neutral in the coming fight, but warning that foreigners who assisted the government could expect no consideration from the revolutionaries, either during the fight or at its successful conclusion.<sup>17</sup>

The proclamation made, Salas proceeded to gather his men

<sup>15</sup> Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> R. Flores Magón to Harry Weinberger, May 9, 1921.

<sup>17</sup> Padua, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

about him to plan his campaign. The army of the Vera Cruz Liberals, consisting of about a thousand poorly armed men, was divided into three parts, each of which was assigned a definite objective to capture. Salas was to take Acayucán, Enrique Nova was given the commission of capturing Minatitlán, and the reduction of Puerto México was left to Juan Alfonso and Román Marín. The movements against the three Federal garrisons were to be simultaneous, the plan being to capture them at a single blow, thus leaving a considerable part of the state in the hands of the Liberals. Due to procrastination and poor leadership, however, neither Puerto México nor Minatitlán was even attacked, in spite of the fact that a small group of rebels was waiting at Puerto México, armed with repeating rifles, ready to assist Alfonso and Marín.<sup>18</sup>

Salas, however, was a more capable and determined leader than were those of the other contingents, and so struck the first armed blow delivered by the Liberals, attacking Acayucán at eleven o'clock on the night of September 30, 1906. The rebels attacked with vigor and were close to the point of victory when a ricocheting bullet doomed the venture to failure. The ball struck Salas in the abdomen, wounding him gravely, leaving the small band without a leader. The men, untrained, were completely demoralized by the loss of the *jefe*, even though he was only wounded; therefore, they picked up Salas and beat a hasty retreat.<sup>19</sup>

Far to the north, in the state of Coahuila, another small band joined in the work of undermining the power of the mighty Díaz. At Jiménez a group of armed rebels attempted to gain control, but the combination of poor organization on the part of the insurgents and the forewarning of the government forces was too much for the efforts of the rebels, so that this attempt also was destroyed in its embryonic state.<sup>20</sup> In the state of Tabasco, Ignacio Gutiérrez gathered a group of Liberals and took up arms against the dictator, but his small army was soon forced into the hills by the larger Federal forces.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> R. Flores Magón to P. G. Guerrero, December 24, 1906.

<sup>21</sup> Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

While these preliminary outbreaks were occurring, and being destroyed as Flores Magón foresaw, Ricardo and his group took no direct action because of the danger involved. Secure, as he thought, on the United States side of the Rio Grande, the organizer of the Liberal Party called a meeting of the loyal members of his junta whom he could contact. But two men who had been working for the revolution proved to be traitors, and the Mexican authorities were notified of the place of meeting and the persons involved. The Mexican authorities, in turn, notified those of the United States; the meeting was raided, culminating in the arrest of Antonio I. Villarreal, Lauro Aguirre, and J. Cano, in El Paso on the night of October 19, for violation of the neutrality laws. At the same time Juan Sarabia was arrested in Ciudad Juárez along with some lesser men, while similar arrests were made in nearly all parts of the republic.<sup>22</sup> The chief prize, however, was not taken, for Ricardo managed to elude capture in the mêlée at the time of the arrest; Villarreal managed to escape<sup>23</sup> while being taken across into Mexico, but Sarabia was not so fortunate and spent the next five years in San Juan de Ulúa,<sup>24</sup> the most famous of the Mexican prisons. The discovery of the plans and the seizure of the revolutionaries was a rude shock to the hopes of the group, but the loss was not a complete and total disaster.

After the arrest of Villarreal and Sarabia, Ricardo Flores Magón went into hiding with a price put on his head by the United States government.<sup>25</sup> Librado Rivera and Aarón López Manzano were arrested in St. Louis, public opinion only preventing their extradition to Mexico.<sup>26</sup> With Sarabia in a Mexican prison, Rivera in jail in St. Louis, Salas and Padua in flight in the hills of Vera Cruz, the Liberals in the south being rounded up for imprisonment,<sup>27</sup> and Ricardo

<sup>22</sup> R. Flores Magón to P. G. Guerrero, December 24, 1906.

<sup>23</sup> Undated open letter, apparently written in the summer of 1907, signed by R. Flores Magón and Villarreal.

<sup>24</sup> Francisco Naranjo, *Diccionario biográfico revolucionario* (Mexico, 1935), p. 200.

<sup>25</sup> R. Flores Magón to Harry Weinberger, May 9, 1921.

<sup>26</sup> Open letter, signed by Villarreal and R. Flores Magón, 1907.

<sup>27</sup> Padua, *Movimiento revolucionario* . . . , p. 9.



Flores Magón a fugitive in the Southwest of the United States,<sup>28</sup> there seemed little likelihood that the Liberals would have any further hope of success. Deficiency in arms and number of men, however, was partly counteracted by lofty determination; the slow and painful work of reorganization was begun anew. Although a fugitive, Ricardo Flores Magón, by means of codes and aliases, managed to keep in touch with the Liberals.<sup>29</sup> Rivera was soon released from jail in St. Louis; he rejoined the Liberal leaders who were still at liberty. A further blow to the Liberal cause came with the arrest of Ricardo Flores Magón, Librado Rivera, and Antonio I. Villarreal, in Los Angeles, in August, 1907,<sup>30</sup> for, although Ricardo was able to get a release on bail after a short time,<sup>31</sup> all three were finally sentenced to serve prison terms, convicted on the charge of having violated the neutrality laws of the United States.<sup>32</sup> By the time they were released,<sup>33</sup> the Madero movement was gaining headway, though the revolution had not yet started.

With the incarceration of Rivera, Villarreal, and Ricardo Flores Magón, the leadership fell to Praxedis G. Guerrero. An indefatigable fighter and propagandist, Guerrero, using the pseudonym *Nihil* and writing in code, was able to keep in communication with the Vera Cruz revolutionaries.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, he wrote a great deal in the revolutionary paper, *Punto Rojo*, published in El Paso,<sup>35</sup> and organized some armed expeditions into Mexico.

It was nearly two years after the failure of the movements in the fall of 1906 before the Liberals felt themselves strong enough to come to grips with the Díaz government again. After months of saving in order to buy arms, secrecy to prevent detection, and planning to ensure success, late in June

<sup>28</sup> R. Flores Magón to Harry Weinberger, May 9, 1921.

<sup>29</sup> Numerous letters written by R. Flores Magón during that period attest to this fact.

<sup>30</sup> R. Flores Magón to Harry Weinberger, May 9, 1921.

<sup>31</sup> R. Flores Magón to P. G. Guerrero, September 4, 1907.

<sup>32</sup> R. Flores Magón to Harry Weinberger, May 9, 1921.

<sup>33</sup> August 1, 1910. Madero was then in prison in Coahuila.

<sup>34</sup> Letters from Guerrero to Padua during this time prove this fact.

<sup>35</sup> *Punto Rojo* was the revolutionary paper of most importance after *Regeneración* closed with the imprisonment of Ricardo Flores Magón and his helpers.

two small revolutionary bands crossed the Rio Grande and advanced to the attack. On the night of June 25, 1908, the town of Viesca, in northern Coahuila, was taken by the rebels with comparative ease, the only casualties being one policeman killed and one wounded, and one insurgent wounded. The insurgents took possession of the town with no disorders; no civilians were molested in any manner, according to Guerrero. Public opinion, however, drove them out, for it was reported that the men who held the town were not true revolutionaries, but were merely bandits masquerading under the name of the Liberal Party in order to get personal gain. In the face of the criticism thus advanced, the rebels withdrew voluntarily after a short period of occupation, sorely disappointed at the failure of the populace to rise and follow the revolutionary standard they had unfurled.<sup>36</sup>

In the meantime, another band of about forty men, of which Guerrero was a member,<sup>37</sup> attacked Las Vacas, Coahuila,<sup>38</sup> at approximately the same hour that their companions were assaulting Viesca. At Las Vacas, however, there was a Federal garrison of approximately a hundred men, which made the situation more dangerous and the task more difficult. After a bloody assault on the garrison, during which the rebel ranks were decimated and the Federals were reduced by deaths and desertions to about fifteen men, the town was under the control of the rebels. In view of the large number of deaths among the insurgents, however, it was decided that a retreat was in order, with José Rangel leading it. In 1910, writing of this event, Guerrero concluded with the following:

A failure, murmur some voices.

Example, teaching, stimulation, immortal episode  
of a revolution that will triumph, says logic.<sup>39</sup>

On July 1, 1908, the most audacious attempt of the period

<sup>36</sup> Praxedis G. Guerrero, "Episodios de la Revolución de 1908: Viesca," *Regeneración*, September 17 and 24, 1910.

<sup>37</sup> *Punto Rojo*, August 29, 1909.

<sup>38</sup> Las Vacas is the present Villa Acuña.

<sup>39</sup> P. G. Guerrero, "Episodios de la Revolución de 1908: Las Vacas," *Regeneración*, September 10, 1910. Rangel was later arrested in Dimmit County, Texas, and sent to Huntsville Penitentiary as the result of the death of a deputy sheriff who tried to prevent the passage of some insurgents into Mexico.

was made when Guerrero<sup>40</sup> and ten others attacked the town of Palomas, Chihuahua. Palomas, though containing a small barracks and force of *rurales*, was of no strategic value; the attack was made merely as a means of giving the populace of Chihuahua a rallying point around which to rise. Having learned a lesson at Las Vacas, where the Federals had hidden in the houses of the civilians and fired upon the rebels, the first action of the rebels was to visit every house, for the dual purpose of searching for snipers and assuring the civilians that no harm would come to them. The difficulties of storming the barracks, however, were too great to be overcome. The walls were substantially built and the rebels had no guns of sufficient caliber to form a breach in the walls; moreover, the Federals could fire from the flat roof of the barracks down on the rebels below. The number of casualties was slight, but the death of Francisco Manrique, one of the most promising of the younger Liberals, was a serious blow to the revolutionary cause. After some hours of attack, the rebels, disheartened by the loss of Manrique and by the resistance of the government forces, retreated to the desert and dispersed.<sup>41</sup>

In Vera Cruz the movement was dormant for nearly two years after the defeat at Acayucán. Salas, because of his serious injury, was compelled to remain in hiding in the hills for the remainder of 1906; it was during this period, while Salas was so seriously ill, that Cándido Donato Padua became the chief supporter and friend of the Vera Cruz revolutionist.<sup>42</sup> Following the strike in Orizaba on January 7, 1907, and the succeeding repercussions, Salas and Padua decided to leave that section of the country, going to the region around San Andrés Tuxtla, a more secluded spot. They received mail regularly, either at Catemaco or San Andrés Tuxtla, through friends, thus remaining in contact with the scattered elements of the revolutionary group. After a year in the region, it was necessary to take precipitate flight to prevent arrest. By that time conditions in Vera Cruz were quiet; therefore, they returned to the hills of that section.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Punto Rojo*, August 29, 1909.

<sup>41</sup> P. G. Guerrero, "Episodios de la Revolución de 1908: Palomas," *Regeneración*, October 1, 1910.

<sup>42</sup> Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.



In July, 1908, while still in hiding, Salas received word from Samuel A. Ramírez, an old friend and co-worker who had been hiding in Puerto México.<sup>44</sup> From this correspondence was born a scheme of reorganization; accordingly, Salas, Padua, Ramírez, Pedro Carvajal, and Juan B. García met at Mata de Canela and signed a revolutionary pact on September 5, 1908. The agreement provided that all the signatories would work for the triumph of the Liberal Party program, that no armed action would be begun until all were in accord as to the exact time, that each *jefe* was to respect and make respected all private property of Mexicans and foreigners alike, and that in no case were the women to be molested in any manner.<sup>45</sup> After affixing their signatures to the pact, the leaders went their various ways to organize forces and to raise funds. Padua went to Catemaco, where he stayed until he returned to Soteapán in the early days of 1909. On February 22, 1909, he was commissioned as chief of revolutionary operations in that sector.<sup>46</sup> During the remainder of the year the organization was being perfected, and at the same time coöperation with the Anti-Reelectionist Clubs was in the offing, if the Anti-Reelectionists would agree to work for the triumph of the principles in the program of the Liberal Party.<sup>47</sup> Early in the summer, Salas asked the Clubs for a number of copies of the Anti-Reelectionist Party Manifesto so that they could be disseminated among the Liberals with the purpose of organizing coöperation for the triumph of the best democratic candidate that could be nominated, when the presidential elections were to be held.<sup>48</sup> Salas was apparently reconciled to the legal manner of gaining the triumph, but he was determined to continue preparation, under cover, for an armed conflict in case it would be necessary to fight to gain the desired ends.<sup>49</sup> He had no faith at all in the statements of Díaz that there would be a fair election; on the contrary, he felt that Díaz would not comply with his promises.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Ramírez to Salas, July —, 1908, as quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Agreement of Mata de Canela, September 5, 1908, as quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>46</sup> Salas to Padua, February 22, 1909, as quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> Salas to Padua, July 7, 1909, as quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

<sup>48</sup> Salas to Padua, June 22, 1909, quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>49</sup> Salas to Padua, July 7, 1909, quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

<sup>50</sup> Salas to Padua, July 12, 1909, quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37. The

Plans were made and changed during the following year, with partial arrangements being made for the delivery of San Juan de Ulúa to the insurgents.<sup>51</sup> Such progress was made that on April 17, 1910, at a meeting of military chiefs in Tlaxcala, the consensus of opinion was that the time was near for a new blow to be struck at the dictatorship, and it was felt that the neighboring states would join in the movement.<sup>52</sup> The region of Caleria and Comoapán was restless and ready for action;<sup>53</sup> the stage was set and the curtain was nearly ready to rise.

There were difficult days and heart-breaking delays in store for the Liberals, with the result that the Madero revolution was in full swing before the Liberals finally got under way. Mistakes, acts of treason, lack of money, uncertainty, and premature actions all played a major rôle in blocking any effective armed rebellion by the southern and central Liberals.<sup>54</sup>

In the north, there was a period of comparative quiet following the attacks on Viesca, Las Vacas, and Palomas, but in 1909 Guerrero again rose to the attack, using *Punto Rojo* as his propagandizing medium.<sup>55</sup> No further armed attacks were made during the year, however, and it was not until December, 1910, that bullets were again substituted for words, when an attack was made on Janos, Chihuahua.<sup>56</sup> In this attack the valiant Guerrero was killed in a skirmish with *rurales* led by Miguel Cárdenas.<sup>57</sup>

prediction that Salas made at that time concerning the action that Díaz would take was very accurate; he also saw the danger of Reyes after the death or fall of Díaz.

<sup>51</sup> Salas to Padua, March 19, 1910, quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>52</sup> Salas to Ignacio Gutiérrez, April 18, 1910, in Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>53</sup> Salas to Padua, April 23, 1910. Quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>54</sup> León Cárdenas Martínez to Padua, May 25, 1910; Salas to Padua, June 17, 1910; Martínez to Padua, July 28, 1910; Martínez to Padua, August 5, 1910; Guerrero to Padua, August 17, 1910; Enrique Flores Magón to Padua, August 21, 1910; Guerrero to Salas, September 3, 1910; Salas to Padua, September 5, 1910; Guerrero to Salas, September 24, 1910; Salas to Padua, October 3, 1910; Zamora to Padua, November 7, 1910; circular letter from the Los Angeles Junta, November 16, 1910; and Guerrero to Padua, December 13, 1910, tell this story in graphic detail. All of this correspondence is in Padua, *op. cit.*

<sup>55</sup> See issues of *Punto Rojo* for that period.

<sup>56</sup> Guerrero to Padua, December 13, 1910, as quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>57</sup> Juan C. León to *La Opinión* (Los Angeles), January 12, 1930.

The Madero movement had taken in a large number of the adherents of the Liberal cause, in spite of the insistence of Ricardo Flores Magón that the ideals of the parties were poles apart.<sup>58</sup> Villarreal went to serve in Madero's army, Jesús Flores Magón attempted to get the Liberals to join Madero,<sup>59</sup> Juan Sarabia joined the supporters of Madero,<sup>60</sup> and an untold number of the old followers of Salas<sup>61</sup> and other Liberal leaders took up the Madero standard, either as soldiers or as civilian supporters. To the average Mexican of the lower class the movements seemed the same, and Madero appeared to be the stronger man.

It is not to be thought that the Liberals of the decade from 1900 to 1910 were wild-eyed radicals, for the leaders were men of high ideals and great ability. It is true that Ricardo Flores Magón died in Leavenworth Penitentiary and that Librado spent many years there, both convicted as dangerous anarchists, but they were unfortunate victims of World War I hysteria. Antonio I. Villarreal served in Obregón's cabinet; Guerrero held a reserve commission in the Díaz army; Sarabia has been hailed as a popular hero; Padua later received a pension from the Mexican government for his injuries received in the Constitutionalist army; and many more who took part have since been given recognition of various types. The military successes of these men were negligible, but their importance as the precursors of the Revolution cannot be measured in terms of battles won. Theirs was the task of awakening a part of the Mexican populace to the need for and the possibilities of change; this task was fulfilled in a manner that redounded to their credit.

CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND.

University of Texas.

<sup>58</sup> Ricardo Flores Magón, "El Partido Liberal . . .," *Regeneración*, November 5, 1910.

<sup>59</sup> Jesús Flores Magón to Francisco Madero, June 11, 1911.

<sup>60</sup> Ricardo Flores Magón, "Defenders of the Faith," *Regeneración*, August 11, 1911.

<sup>61</sup> Salas to Padua, July 7, 1909, as quoted in Padua, *op. cit.*, p. 36.



## DOCUMENTS

### A STATEMENT BY PHELIPE DE NEVE

Among the manuscripts on the California missions in the Edward E. Ayer Collection of The Newberry Library, there is one by Felipe de Neve. The document, written in Mexico City, is dated September 12, 1774, eighteen days before Neve's instructions for the Governorship of the Californias were issued and a month before his official appointment to that office. The subject discussed is self-explanatory and the persons mentioned are so well-known to historians of California that notes have seemed unnecessary.

As to the provenance of the manuscript, no record has been preserved. It is probably a part of one of the three volumes in which Serra's diary was found. The spelling, punctuation, accentuation and abbreviations follow the original literally.

RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER.

The Newberry Library,  
Chicago.

Por individuales noticias que he tenido de los subcesos acaesidos en la Peninsula de Californias, despues de la expulsion de los Regulares é hentendido, que desde luego que pisaron dha Peninsula los R<sup>dos</sup>. P. del Colegio de S<sup>n</sup>. fernando, dirigieron sus ydeas á suprimir el Gov<sup>no</sup>. y quedar en los mismos terminos que estuvieron los Regulares, á este fin cõspiraron contra el Ten<sup>te</sup>. Cor<sup>l</sup>. d<sup>n</sup>. Gaspar de Portola, con quien tuvieron mil devates, y por ultimo yntentaron, ó le hisieron causa de fee; ni fue vastante a contener sus ydeas, el Respetto del Yll<sup>mo</sup>. S<sup>or</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Jph<sup>c</sup>. de Galves. de quien consiguieron se les entregasen las fincas, y Ganados de aquellas Miciones, cuia Administracion, fomento, y lavorios, corrio un A<sup>o</sup>. al cargo de sus Respectivos Maiordomos, por disposicion del Governador; sin envargo de hesta gracia que resivieron, dieron mucho que aser á S Yll<sup>ma</sup>. y siguieron sus oposiciones con el Ay<sup>te</sup>. mōr. d<sup>n</sup>. Juan Gutierrez, (que quedo mandando la Peninsula por la salida de d<sup>n</sup>. Gaspar de Portola) a quien formaron capitulacion que dirigieron al Yll<sup>mo</sup>. S<sup>or</sup>. Visitador; continuaron sus quimeras con el Sarg<sup>to</sup>. mōr d<sup>n</sup>. Phelipe Barri, a quien asta en el confesonario se le pretendio ynsultar, aviendo ultimam<sup>te</sup>. llegado a tanto el ardor de los

Reverendos Misioneros, que presecutaron [*sic*] a los Yndios de las rancherías, no vendiesen por ningún caso sus frutas, ó aves, al Gov<sup>or</sup>. ni Comisario, y verificaron el castigo del que lo ejecuto. y aunque fueron relevados de aquellas Misiones los P. fernandinos, por religiosos de S<sup>to</sup>. Domingo, quedaron estos, con el mismo espíritu, á desvanecer todo lo que conducía al servicio del Rey. y cumplim<sup>to</sup>. de los Reglamentos echos por el Y<sup>mo</sup>. S<sup>or</sup>. Visitador Gen<sup>l</sup>. ynspirando en todos aquellos Naturales, y demas Vesinos, Ynovediencia; no solo en los Yndios (a quienes an ynpuesto no tener en ellos mando alguno el Gove<sup>or</sup>.) sino en los soldados, y demas enpleados, de modo que en esta contradiccion, no aplicandose el conveniente pronto remedio vendran á conseguir el fin á que aspiran, y que se aga asonvroso el destino de Californias, siendo temible la destruccion de sus antiguos establecimientos, como deja ynferirse de la notable disminucion de los Naturales que oi existen en cada una de las Misiones, a los que tenian en la Ocupacion, quando se regulan reducidas las de S<sup>n</sup>.tiago de las Coras y N<sup>ra</sup>. S<sup>a</sup>. del Pilar de todos Santos, aquella en la octava, y esta en la desima parte de Almas, dimanado del mal trato, y perniciosos alimentos, que les dan los R<sup>vs</sup>. P. Misioneros, aun a tersera, ó quarta parte que enplean de sus yndios, en las lavores, y trabajos, de la Mision; los restantes van á comer raises, frutas, y iervas, al monte como subse en las Doctrinas de S<sup>n</sup>. Xavier = Guadalupe = la Purisima = S<sup>a</sup>. Gertrudis = S<sup>n</sup>. Ygnacio = S<sup>n</sup>. Borja = S<sup>n</sup>. fernando de Villacata = y Molege = advirtiendose ygual deterioro en los Ganados, vineros, sienvras, y plantios de caña:

Por el Yll<sup>mo</sup>. S<sup>or</sup>. Visitador Gen<sup>l</sup>. se demarco á cada Micion el terreno en que devian formarse el respectivo Pueblo, tierras para sus sienvras, ejios [*sic*] y demas condusente a su formal establecimiento, que dejo al cargo de los Misioneros, pero como esta providencia no era conforme á sus ydeas, no obstante que a cada Religioso se dio la Ynstrucion, quedando en los archivos de la Peninsula, ruvlicado por S Yll<sup>a</sup>. el Livro de Poblaciones, en ninguna á tenido efecto, sin envargo de anularlo los Yndios por quienes se reclamo varias veces; y con efecto el Comisario d<sup>na</sup>. Bernardo Moreno y Castro mandando la Peninsula ynterinam<sup>te</sup>. permitio sus sienvras, a los de S<sup>n</sup>. Jph<sup>e</sup>. del cavo, y S<sup>n</sup>.tiago de las coras, los que lograron con un dia que se les dio franco en cada semana, los seis primeros meses, y dos dias a la semana en los seis meses siguientes, vestirse ellos, y sus Mujeres, aviendo propuesto que dandoseles tres dias francos a la semana para atender a sus sienvras, trabajarian a veneficio de la Mision los tres dias restantes, y no tomarian Racion, pero esto quedo desvanecido, y reducidos a no senvrar para si, luego que entraron en dhas Misiones los R<sup>os</sup>. P. de S<sup>to</sup>. Do-

mingo, y no uviera antes conseguidose, a no aver sido la ynsidencia de allarse vacantes, y al cargo del Cura del R<sup>l</sup>. de S<sup>ta</sup>. Ana D<sup>a</sup>. Ysidro y Varsabal, dejando demostrado este echo, asi la oposicion de los Misio-neros a que se verifiquen los Pueblos, y sienvras de Comunidad para los Naturales, como lo ynportante que hes al servicio de Dios, y del Rey; se establescan, formen y areglen.

Para conseguirlo y que aquellos Naturales logren los alivios que S.M. tiene ordenados, y remover la oposicion de los Reverendos P<sup>s</sup>. Misioneros, asi á su ejection como contra los Gobernadores, y Comisarios, siendo como es la verdadera causa, á que se an dirigido los antese-dentes desordenes, mantenerse en una total yndependencia del Gobierno, logrando los productos que an rendido, y rindan, las Cose-chas de trigo, Maiz, Caña, vino, pasa y demas frutos, semillas y Ganados, a mas de sus sinodos, como de verdadero Patrimonio; es nesesario que por el Ex<sup>mo</sup>. S<sup>or</sup>. Virrey, se mande tomar entero conoci-miento de aquellas Misiones, por lo respectivo á sienvras cosechas, esquilmos y Ganados de cada una, al Govern<sup>dor</sup>. de la Peninsula, para que establezca los Pueblos, se aumenten, dirijan, y reglen las sienbras y Plantios, a proporcion de las tierras de cada Mision, veneficios que logren, y Numero de Yndios que tengan para sus lavorios, que deveran correr a cargo del maiordomo, ó persona que destinase á proposito para dho efecto, y el de dar quenta de las anuales cosechas, sus entradas, salidas, y distrivuciones, conpovadas, con arreglo a la ynstrucion que devera formarse.

El R<sup>do</sup>. P. Misionero en cada mision, solo tendra a su cargo la enseñanza, Doctrina y gobierno espiritual de sus respectivos Yndios, celando no se use con ellos de mal trato, quedando reducidos dhos. P. al mismo orden, metodo y arreglo, que estuvieron el primer año, des-pues de la Espulsion, y respecto á que podra convenir enplear alguna parte de los Yndios, en las salinas, u otras faenas, en las ymediaciones de sus Misiones, y que otros voluntariamente querran travajar en lo que ocurra, aunque sea á distancia por el ynteres del jornal que pueda darseles de ningun modo lo envarase el P. Misionero, cuiá providencia siendo del superior agrado de S. Ex. podra prevenirse directam<sup>te</sup>. al Reverendo P. Presidente de las Misiones. Ygualmente podra adver-tirse al R<sup>mo</sup>. P. Prov<sup>l</sup>. de S<sup>to</sup>. Domingo que en los subcesivo devera entenderse con su R<sup>ma</sup>. el Governador de la Peninsula en los casos que correspondan.

Por este medio se lograra, así el fomento y Poblacion de la Penin-sula, como que sus cosechas aumentando las sienbras, no solo sufraguen a mantener los avitantes de la antigua California, sino los nuevos establecimientos asta Monte Rey. Veneficiando lo sobrante, que deve



ser de alguna consideracion, para que su producto sirva para subenir á los forsozos gastos de la Peninsula.

Con ygual destino devera solicitarse venta de Zal de guajo, que produse con tanta avundancia la Ysla del Carmen, que hes ynagotable, siendo superior á quantas se an descuierto, devera recogerse el Ynsienso, Carey, y Pesca de Perla, tanteando en todo y estableciendo, lo que pueda ser util y conveniente, asi como en el veneficio de Platas, de q<sup>e</sup>. se tiene esperiencia (que sin envargo de ser las Minas descuiertas mui vorrascosas, sin que en ninguna se alle formal veta) que en menos de dos a<sup>o</sup>. que las Veneficio d<sup>o</sup>. Bernardo Moreno y Castro, siendo Comisario del Sur, produjeron *siete mil quatro* cientos marcos de Plata que dejaron livres de costos como *dies y seis mil pesos*.

Para establecer todo lo referido, siendo del Superior agrado de S.E. devera nonvrarse un sujeto de actitud é ynteligencia que frequentemente visite las Misiones, cuide del Aumento de sus lavores, cunplim<sup>to</sup>. de sus Maiordomos, en la ejecusion de quanto quede prevenido a cada una, en la primer visita del Governador, cuio en cargo con el sueldo que su Ex<sup>a</sup>. tenga por conveniente señarlle, siendo de la Superior aprovacion de S.E. podra recaer en el Citado D<sup>o</sup>. Bernardo Moreno y Castro, por concurrir en el actitud, ynteligencia y practico conosimiento de la Peninsula, y sus Misiones, teniendo acreditado que en el tiempo que sirvio las comisarias del Sur, y Loreto, dio de aumentos *veinte mil pesos* adquiridos con su travajo é yndustria.

Asi mismo consectuo preciso, para seguir la correspondencia, de los Maiordomos, entradas y salidas de frutos y esquilmos, quantas y demas q<sup>e</sup>. ha de hestableserse, un oficial de Pluma que se consigne a la Comisaria de Loreto, por la que devera correr, todo Producto, venta, y distrivucion; con el Salario que se regule por la Superioridad.

Ygualmente conviene se ponga en la Comisaria de Loreto, ocho o dies mil p<sup>s</sup>. en r<sup>s</sup>. para subenir a los forsozos gastos que an de ocurrir, pues no sirculando en el dia Moneda alguna en aquella Peninsula, y siendo presiso ocurrir a la costa de Sinaloa, por operarios, si uviesen de travajarse las Minas, y Pagar estos con r<sup>s</sup>. como los sueldos de Governador, Comisario, y demas q<sup>e</sup>. nuevam<sup>te</sup>. se enplehen, como reparar la falta de Viveres que frecuentem<sup>te</sup>. suele esperimentarse, y no ai otro recurso que el de pasar a comprarlos á dha costa, se aria ynpracticable sin este auxilio, como se avria experimentado en el mes de Maio del a<sup>o</sup>. anterior a no aver dado el Governador D<sup>o</sup>. Phelipe Barri tres mil p<sup>s</sup>. que tenia, á aquella Comisaria.

Es quanto he comprehendido condusente á verificar el Aumento de la Peninsula y establecer en ella la paz y gobierno Publico.

Mexico 12 de Sep<sup>re</sup>. de 1774

Phelipe de Neve (rúbrica)

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Spanish Guild Merchant, a History of the Consulado, 1250-1700.*

By ROBERT SIDNEY SMITH. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. xii, 167: \$2.50.)

In this brief study the author has traced the activities of an organization which, as he says, "combined the attributes of a commercial-maritime court and of a guild merchant." While the importance of Spanish commercial activities, both in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic, is gradually becoming well known, until this work appeared the consulado had remained one of the neglected topics of Spanish economic history. If Professor Smith had merely recalled the existence of the institution, his work would have been praiseworthy. Needless to say, however, he has accomplished much more than that, for the archival materials gathered in several visits to Spain and to some of the other countries involved in the trade have enabled the writer not only to bring into the student's focus the consulado itself and its place in the picture of Spanish commerce, but also to add some much-needed information concerning that very trade itself.

The consulado is shown in its beginnings in Mediterranean Spain in the thirteenth century, starting "as an institution for facilitating the settlement of commercial disputes and for promoting and protecting the trading interests of Aragonese merchants at home and abroad." Its appearance at that time tends to show, the author believes, that the mercantile class was then becoming strong enough to realize its particularistic ambitions—that is, to demand and get special tribunals. At first, these tribunals could be said to be both commercial and maritime, since the trader of that day was, in many cases, also a seafarer, but with greater specialization the mariner lost his place in the court. That did not, however, hinder the growth and spread of the institution, for before 1450 eight towns in Mediterranean Spain possessed the consular establishments. Also, soon after the union of Castile and Aragon, that is the unity brought by the succession to power of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel, the agency was transplanted to the rest of modern Spain, and, by the end of the sixteenth century, made its appearance in Spanish America in the cities of Lima and Mexico.

The author has wisely chosen to present the more detailed history

of the consulados by regions; for example, all of the Aragonese establishments were grouped together in a single chapter, as were those of northern Castile (Burgos and Bilbao). However, the Sevillian consulado, because of its commanding place in the Spanish trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when that trade seemed to move from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, could not be presented in the same manner, and demanded separate treatment. Even so, the critic felt that the American commerce was being dismissed a little too summarily, but perhaps that is because he overestimates the importance of that trade.

As is indicated by the title, the work's scope, insofar as time is concerned, is the period 1250-1700. It is quite likely that objections will be made to these limits as somewhat arbitrarily imposed, since the consulado continued in existence throughout the eighteenth century and on into the nineteenth, and, in fact, according to some students, reached its highest point in influence and responsibility during the reign of Charles III or immediately thereafter in the latter years of the eighteenth century. It is believed, however, that the author has rightly viewed his small volume as a careful exploration of origins and fundamental purposes. It is inferred, moreover, that he has planned a separate, and perhaps larger, work upon the later period. It is to be hoped that Professor Smith has now, or will now, set himself to that task.

From notes of the late CHARLES E. CHAPMAN  
by C. N. GUICE, JR.

Mexico, D. F.

*Exchange Control and the Argentine Market.* By VIRGIL SALERA.  
(New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 283. \$3.50.)

When the flow of graduate students into the field of Latin-American economic problems finally develops on a large scale, one of its earliest products should be a satisfactory series on British economic and financial relationships with Argentina. With Argentine economic history so largely written in terms of British investments, British utilities, British commercial penetration, and the British market for the great staples, the student with a long view will probably be attracted to a field which thus far has stimulated interest more because of the greater availability of statistical materials as compared with the other Latin-American republics. In the meantime we must be satisfied with studies on a narrower base.

Dr. Salera in *Exchange Control and the Argentine Market* has



selected British bilateralism vis-à-vis Argentina as the focal point in a survey of Argentine exchange control. He has covered the existing material thoroughly, and has brought to his work a good reporter's awareness of the central issues as well as a solid foundation in economics. The discussion in Chapter IV of the British-Argentine balance of payments and of the treatment of British railways is one of the most interesting sections written on Argentine problems in recent years. The analysis of British trade treaty relationships is generally well handled. This reviewer found the final chapters on the American position as seen in import series and the means for improving the United States position in the Argentine market somewhat below the level of previous sections of the book. The tone of the writing at times becomes too aggressively intent on proving the thesis overwhelmingly, but style, after all, tends to improve after doctoral dissertations are out of the way and we should have increasingly valuable studies from Dr. Salera.

SIMON G. HANSON.

Washington, D. C.

*Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1926.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941. 2 vols. Pp. cxxvii, 1126; xci, 1023. \$2.00 each.)

*Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. General Index, 1900-1918.* [Including the Regular Volumes and the Appendices for 1901 and 1902.] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941. Pp. iv, 507. \$1.25.)

The two heavy volumes of *Foreign Relations* for 1926 maintain in general the high standard of editing notable in this series in recent years. In more than 2,000 pages of American diplomatic correspondence the historian and all students of public affairs will find a wealth of material on virtually every aspect of our foreign relations. The subjects claiming widest attention include Tacna-Arica and China. On the former, one may follow the record of the arbitration, the termination of the plebiscite and the renewal of good offices by the United States. On the subject of our relations with China, covering 512 pages, one may follow a graphic record of the civil wars, and the advance into the Yangtze Valley of the Southern armies under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek and his Russian advisers. There is graphic revelation of the manifold problems of our relations with China in a year of her greatest turmoil.

The most significant correspondence in these volumes will be found

in the 111 pages devoted to Mexico (II, 605-715). Presented here in considerable detail is the legalistic and philosophical duel of words between Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs Sáenz and American Secretary of State Kellogg, on the subject of Mexico's alien land and petroleum laws. The bald distinction between the views of the two governments, between the American insistence on the sacredness of vested property rights and Mexican insistence upon her constitutional program of nationalization, is revealed in Kellogg's vigorous note of July 31 (II, 643), and in the fluent, not to say ironical, response of Sáenz, October 7 (II, 653).

Although the two governments professed to be in perfect agreement on a number of principles governing vested rights of property, they were in total disagreement on "the practical interpretation and specific application of these general conceptions" (II, 643).

The United States could not accept the view that property rights are "a mere right of user or enjoyment, which might lawfully be interrupted or wholly taken away by laws or regulations affecting its future duration, or imposing conditions upon future enjoyment" (II, 645). Secretary Kellogg held that "... the Mexican Government claims the right to convert unqualified ownerships into terms for years by the simple device of requiring the existing titles to be exchanged for concessions of limited duration" (II, 646).

Minister Sáenz observed that in effecting a change in the system of ownership

the main problem consists in laying down the temporary measures of a provisional character which make it possible to pass from one system to the other.

The difficulty of these measures consists in the fact that two tendencies are met,—that of the created interests which would prefer and demand that the same system of law be continued and that of the general interests of the nation which require that the old rights adjust themselves to the new principles [nationalization of petroleum] (II, 664).

Thus the issue between the *status quo* and the revolutionary concepts of Mexico's new order was forcibly stated.

The argument, however, went beyond the mere statement of conflicting principles. Mexico's foreign minister deftly but unmistakably suggested that the representations of the American government were neither correct nor in good taste.

... diplomatic intervention properly so-called is not conceived otherwise than when it is a concrete case calling for the protection of an alien by his government (II, 658).

To carry the foresight to such an extreme as to offer remarks concerning possible injustice that might be committed in connection with the prospective enact-

ment of certain laws is tantamount to a government meddling (*se ingiera*) in the legislation of another, either by making those remarks before the laws are promulgated or by asking in euphemistic words that it be ignored and another put in its place, both being contrary to the principle of sovereignty of the nations (II, 659).

On this note the correspondence for 1926 rested.

The index volume (1900-1918) is a welcome and usable guide.

PAUL H. CLYDE.

Duke University.

*The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830.* By ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1938.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xx, 632. \$3.75.)

Professor Whitaker's volume, the third to appear on this subject within five years, is a work of first-rate significance in which the author not only assembles and appraises the contributions of others but also makes important contributions of his own either by disclosing new information or by new and convincing interpretations. It is a type of work often too little appreciated by some members of our profession, as the present reviewer has learned from experience. Professor Whitaker's style is usually clear and lively and his arguments on disputed points are deftly presented. Moreover, he neatly fits the subject with which he is concerned into its broad contemporary setting and frequently points his discussion toward the future.

The volume is not a work for the amateur or even for scholars who have not themselves dug pretty deeply into the subject. Dr. Whitaker pursues almost every aspect of his theme relentlessly, often through pages of close reasoning. In view of this fact, it appears a little unfortunate that he failed to include a final summary view of the relations of the United States with Latin America and with the European nations in respect to Latin America during the period covered by his volume. Among other things, such a summary would have noted that the people and the government of the United States were sympathetic toward Latin-American independence in the main and most of the time; that American contacts, commercial and otherwise, with the region were affected between 1808 and 1815 by the grain trade with the Spanish Peninsula, by the embargoes of Jefferson and Madison, and by the War of 1812; that the United States failed to give greater official aid to the Latin-American independence movement after 1815 because of the Florida negotiations (not so important



a factor as usually supposed), because of conditions in Latin America and doubts regarding the attitude and capacity of its people and leaders, and because of fear of provoking European intervention in the New World; but that the government of the United States was disposed always to take advantage of rifts and discords among the European powers in order to press the Latin-American case for independence, in this manner serving the interests of both the United States and Latin America.

While agreeing with Professor Whitaker's views in almost every point in dispute with Henry Adams, Dexter Perkins, Tatum, and others, the reviewer must take exception to at least two of the author's statements, both of which seem to have been made in rare moments of carelessness. The first is that the Monroe Doctrine as announced in 1823 committed the United States to fight for Latin America's independence (p. 518). The author's own narrative shows that the doctrine was hardly considered at the time as embracing such a commitment. The second statement (p. 600) minimizes the interest of the United States in Latin America during the half-century following 1825 or 1830. It would have been better if the author had confined his generalizations to the period covered by his detailed investigations.

It may be added that the volume contains an index both to its contents and to the authors cited, although neither is wholly satisfactory; and that the work contains a number of misprints. Without especially looking for typographical errors, this reviewer found a dozen or more. But the defects of Professor Whitaker's volume should not be measured by the relative space given to them in this review. His work deserves to be listed among the four or five best books that have been published by scholars of the United States on Latin America during the last ten years.

J. FRED RIPPY.

University of Chicago.

*Western America. The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi.* By LEROY R. HAFEN and CARL COKE RISTER. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941. Pp. xxiv, 698. Maps and illustrations. \$4.65. Students' edition, \$3.50.)

No more colorful and romantic story can be found in the annals of any people than that of the exploration, settlement, and development of our own Trans-Mississippi West. It is a story, moreover, of perennial interest to most Americans who seem to see in the intrepid explorers, the hardy mountain men, the Argonauts bound for Cali-

foria, the adventurers of Oregon, the range riders of the Great Plains, and many other picturesque figures, characters who held leading parts in a great drama played upon a gigantic stage.

Every student of Western history must be more or less familiar with the earlier work of each of these authors in this field and will welcome a volume by two such veteran writers and scholars in collaboration. Such students have every reason to expect the production, by their joint efforts, of a book of rare interest and value and in this expectation they will not be disappointed. In thirty-five chapters, averaging some twenty pages each, there have been packed not only most of the essential facts of the history of this portion of America but there is also a vivid picture of life in the Far West as it was lived by the men and women most responsible for its development. The book will prove a veritable treasure chest for every teacher and student of Western history most of whom have hitherto experienced difficulty in finding within a single volume a comprehensive and scholarly account of the various movements and activities of the pioneers in this great region. It will, moreover, be of absorbing interest to the average lay reader who will not only derive from its pages a great deal of pleasure, but also much profit.

In the preparation of such a volume questions of organization and selection of material to be included will inevitably arise to create numerous difficult and perplexing problems. On the whole, the authors have solved these problems in very satisfactory fashion though some readers would perhaps prefer a slight change in the order of a few chapters in the central part of the volume. This is a trivial matter, however, not worthy of serious consideration. In the opinion of this reviewer it would have been better to shorten or omit altogether some of the earlier chapters, particularly five to eight inclusive, in order to make possible a fuller treatment of a number of subjects discussed all too briefly in the last two chapters. These earlier chapters deal largely with the westward advance of the Anglo-Americans east of the Mississippi and while such an account is valuable for background, it could possibly have been given considerably more briefly since it lies largely outside the field of this volume as indicated by its subtitle. It might also have been possible to reduce somewhat the space devoted to the Western Indians although these aboriginal inhabitants of the region had very important influences on its history, and the chapters devoted to them are so excellent that most readers would regret to see any part of them omitted. To cover such a vast field within the compass of a single volume is a difficult matter, how-

ever, and it is a question as to whether or not some reduction along the lines suggested might have been desirable in order to give more attention to such subjects as irrigation, lumbering, and oil development quite briefly discussed in next to the last chapter. All of these have been of enormous significance in the social and economic life of large numbers of people. It is possible, too, that the final chapter on the evolution of Western culture might have been expanded somewhat since few writers on Western history have given to its cultural aspects as much attention as they deserve.

It must be borne in mind, however, that what should be included in a book, or the relative importance of the subjects discussed, will always remain a matter of opinion upon which no two persons can be expected to agree. This volume is, on the whole, well organized and the treatment of most matters quite comprehensive. It shows every evidence of sound scholarship, painstaking research, and is written in easy, readable style. Most students of this field will agree that it is the best and most complete history of the Trans-Mississippi West that has yet appeared and it is difficult to see how a better or more complete one could be produced in a single volume. Type errors are few and those noted are of little importance, though examples may be found on pages 126, 590, and 643. Printing and binding are of high quality while thirteen maps and seventeen excellent illustrations add considerably to the value and interest of the book. The index is good and a well-selected bibliography is given after each chapter which is a feature that will prove most helpful to those seriously interested in the study of Western history.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE.

University of Oklahoma.

*Una Nueva Argentina.* By ALEJANDRO E. BUNGE. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Guillermo Kraft Ltda., 1940. Pp. 513. Paper, \$5.00 m/n.)

For more than a quarter century there has come from the pen of Alejandro E. Bunge a steady stream of books and articles on Argentine economic and social problems. Pioneering in many fields of economic analysis in Argentina, never far from the scene of policy implementation and concerned constantly with the relation of his research to public policy, keeping informed always on progress in economic analysis abroad, Dr. Bunge's work has brought an uneven reaction. At times the scholar with narrow interest may turn from the Bunge product with distaste for the superficial. At times his



work appears to be excessively imitative of lines of analysis being followed abroad on the basis of much more available material. But more often the student of Argentine economic problems finds his starting point in Bunge's pioneering efforts, finds these books and articles full of suggestions and guides to more thorough analysis, profits from the author's broad judgment and vision. Such a contribution makes less important the fact that definitive works are few in a field so undeveloped and from a man with such wide interests.

*Una Nueva Argentina*—a collection of essays on subjects ranging from the birth rate to the case for a customs union—is typically Bunge. To a reading (and a writing!) public too often ignorant of basic currents in Argentine economic life, Bunge unfolds a record of a supposedly expanding export economy which ceased to expand; of a land which could support one hundred million people and yet shows with a population of thirteen million unanticipated signs of maturity; of regional variation in production and standard of consumption which should be a continuing challenge to those who determine government policy; of rising costs of government which can be justified hereafter only if more directly related to social objectives.

Citing the opinion that prevailed until recently that population would reach thirty million by 1960 and sixty million by 1980, Bunge goes on to estimate that with Buenos Aires' fertility holding at its current level and the rest of the country declining to the Buenos Aires level, population might reach fourteen to fifteen million in 1960 and drop to around eleven and one-half million by 1990. He develops age-distribution charts showing the tendency to a larger concentration in the higher age brackets, and suggests that further decline in the death rate cannot be expected to make up for the declining birth rate. The essays on population include discussions of the rapid urbanization until urban population came to be about three fourths of the total in 1938, the ability to maintain output with a smaller rural population thanks to modern methods of cultivation, the contrast in the problem of foreign-born population, from 1914 when the 30 per cent foreign-born constituted a problem in assimilation to the current situation where foreign-born of 20 per cent, largely in higher age brackets, are a much less acute problem.

On matters of production and consumption, he shows domestic consumption of national output rising from 61 per cent before the first World War to 68 per cent in 1936-38, imports dropping from 39 per cent of total consumption in 1910 to 25 per cent in 1939, the standards between regions varying so sharply, that a zone within a radius of

500 kilometers of Buenos Aires contains 20 per cent of the area, two-thirds of the population, 86 per cent of land cultivated with cereals and linseed, 63 per cent of cattle, 46 per cent of sheep, 54 per cent of railways, 71 per cent of telephones, 79 per cent of automobiles, and 78 per cent of the capital invested in extractive and manufacturing industries. He finds the cost of government ascending to 31 per cent of national production in 1939 from 21 per cent in 1910, resulting in practically a doubling of the cost per capita.

The underlying thesis of the essays is that with population aging and the settling-down process occurring before the great potentialities of this expanding economy have been realized, the economy may undergo major alterations. Until these tendencies appeared, the Argentine economy had functioned within an area defined by a high birth rate, rising population, expanding export markets, broadening transportation network, steady increases in value of land, rising governmental expenditures. Bunge urges development of a coördinated national policy that will strengthen the internal economy, focus on social objectives which have been much neglected. There is a twenty-seven-page listing of the author's works at the close of the book.

This reviewer finds little definitive analysis in *Una Nueva Argentina*. Yet the work is sufficiently stimulating to warrant the belief that it would be highly desirable to have an edition in English.

SIMON G. HANSON.

Washington, D. C.

*Argentina and the United States.* By CLARENCE H. HARING. (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1941. Pp. 77. \$0.50.)

This excellent little book is a welcome contrast to many of the larger but superficial studies which have appeared in recent months intended to inform the lay reader regarding one or more of the other American republics. Its compass is broader than the title indicates.

The fifth in a "pamphlet series" inaugurated in January, 1941, by the World Peace Foundation designed "to provide the American people with expert but condensed comment on some of the more important international issues which they are called upon to face as the result of the current wars in Europe and Asia," it seeks "to give a picture of why the Argentine nation is what it is today, and to do it in a single evening's reading." Nevertheless, in view of the scope of the topics covered, the average reader may well find more than "a

single evening's" profitable study of the five short chapters comprising the pamphlet.

In the first chapter Dr. Haring traces the political and social evolution of Argentina from its colonial beginnings as a Spanish colony in the 16th century as background for outlining at least some of the major problems confronting the nation today. Chapter II is a survey of relations between Argentina and the United States during the century and a quarter since the former declared its independence from Spain, and in which Dr. Haring discusses frankly the obstacles to greater cordiality and collaboration between the two countries. In the next two chapters the author sketches briefly but comprehensively the economic geography and history out of which the present-day Argentine economy has evolved. The final chapter describes the political problems created by the war in Argentina and their influence on the country's foreign policy.

VERNON L. PHELPS.

Department of State.

*Política internacional de la Gran Colombia.* By FRANCISCO JOSÉ URRUTIA. (Bogotá: Editorial "El Gráfico," 1941. Pp. 204. Pesos 1.50 M.cte.)

*Nuestro siglo XIX: La Gran Colombia.* By JOAQUÍN TAMAYO. (Bogotá: Editorial Cromos, 1941. Pp. 402. Pesos 2.00 M.cte.)

These two works present convenient, interesting, and, on the whole, reliable summaries of a great epoch in the history of northern South America. Doctor Urrutia is a distinguished diplomat who writes history as an avocation. Doctor Tamayo, whose career was terminated by premature death early in 1941, began as a literary man but soon turned to biography and history. As will be observed, the two works now in review are complementary, the one dealing mainly with the foreign relations of La Gran Colombia and the other largely with its internal history.

Basing his volume mainly upon wide investigation of the diplomatic correspondence of the period (1819-1830)—published correspondence for the most part—Doctor Urrutia gives an illuminating summary of the foreign relations of Bolívar's great state. Although the author's style seems too eulogistic at times, and although some of the more unpleasant phases of the diplomacy of the period are subordinated or omitted entirely, scholars cannot fail to welcome this first attempt to summarize the foreign relations of an important era in



Colombian history. The volume contains ample footnotes but no bibliography.

Dr. Tamayo had planned a four-volume survey of the history of Colombia during the nineteenth century; but apparently only this volume and part of another were finished when death intervened. The work under consideration is remarkably free from partisan bias and extravagant eulogy, and it gives a good deal of attention to social and economic conditions. Tamayo is at his best, however, when portraying the characters of the leaders of the period. Although, apparently, he consulted only printed sources (to which he gives rather full citations) and did not take the trouble to locate and examine such manuscript collections as may have survived the ravages of time and revolution, his work achieves a high standard of historical writing. New Granada, the main center of La Gran Colombia, is given primary emphasis. The reviewer knows of no better survey of this great epoch within the limits of a single volume.

J. FRED RIPPY.

University of Chicago.

*Actividades diplomáticas del General Daniel Florencio O'Leary en Europa.* By MONSEÑOR NICOLÁS E. NAVARRO. (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1939. Pp. xl, 208.)

This book is a publication of the Venezuelan Academy of History on its fiftieth anniversary. With the exception of a few letters (two of O'Leary to his wife, one of General Montilla to Soublette), it is composed of the letters of O'Leary to his brother-in-law, General Carlos Soublette. This correspondence, until now unpublished, is found among the Soublette papers in the Venezuelan Academy of History. It extends through the years 1835 to 1839, during which General O'Leary held various diplomatic posts for Venezuela in Europe, and concerns some very significant phases of Venezuelan foreign relations in the critical period following the Wars for Independence: The questions of recognition by Spain, the settlement of the Colombian debt due English creditors, and the establishment of relations with the Papacy.

The five divisions of the book conform to the phases of O'Leary's activity (including one interlude of vacation in Italy): first, as Secretary of the Venezuelan Legation in London under General Mariano Montilla, 1834-35; second, as Secretary of the Legation in Madrid, 1835-36, a mission headed by Soublette himself, the correspondence of the period consisting of letters of O'Leary to his wife in Vene-

zuela; third, a period of vacation in Italy, 1837, following the return of Soublette to Venezuela to assume the vice-presidency; fourth, as head of a mission to Rome, 1837-39, to seek a concordat with the Papacy; fifth, as Commissioner *ad hoc* in London, 1839, on the matter of the debt of Gran Colombia, a service terminated by the arrival of the regular commissioner, Dr. Alejo Fortique. The correspondence concerning Rome comprises much the longest and the most important division of these documents. Here O'Leary held a position of major importance. Due to the anti-clerical legislation of the Venezuelan Congress and to the consequent conflict with and exile of the Archbishop Méndez, and possibly to other considerations of the Papacy, his mission ended in failure. This correspondence shows, nevertheless, his constant and vigorous efforts to secure a concordat.

These letters reveal no new information of major importance, except perhaps the fact that, through O'Leary, Venezuela did make a more earnest and persistent effort to secure a concordat than has been generally recognized. They contain interesting comments, however, on events and personalities in both European and Hispanic-American politics. They tell us much of O'Leary himself, this devoted aide-de-camp of Bolívar; of his passionate hatred of Santander; of his great respect for and loyalty to Soublette; of his impatience with the Venezuelan Congress; of his exasperation with Archbishop Méndez, upon whom he laid the chief responsibility for his failure in Rome, but whom he recognized later with just proportion as one of the great *próceres* of Venezuelan independence (pp. 188-189 and footnote).

The book is excellently edited. The introduction of Monseñor Navarro gives the essential historical facts about O'Leary's diplomatic activity. There are generous notes, clarifying many references in the correspondence, and a good index, which serves also as a historical and biographical dictionary.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.

*International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875.* By JEAN INGRAM BROOKES. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941. Pp. x, 454. \$5.00.)

This volume is a useful and welcome contribution to the history of nineteenth-century imperialism. Much has been written of the policy of individual nations in individual groups of Pacific islands, but the reviewer is unacquainted with any previous study of the progress and interaction of rival national policies among the Pacific

islands as a whole, in the period before 1875. This gap is well filled by the comprehensive volume of Miss Brookes. The colonizing powers that hold the center of the stage are, of course, France and Great Britain. Germany appears only near the end of the narrative, and in 1875 Bismarck's government is still disclaiming any political designs upon Pacific islands. The United States, on the other hand, while not yet in fact a colonizing power, had been well represented throughout the period by whalers, traders, missionaries, and land speculators, had plainly marked out the Hawaiian Islands for its own, and had exhibited a keen interest in the Samoan group. A striking difference appears between the policies of France and Great Britain. France, alike under the restored Bourbons, the July Monarchy, and the rule of Louis Napoleon, pursued a policy of conscious imperialism quite out of keeping with her slight economic interests in the Pacific. National prestige was an important motive; so was, perhaps, support of Catholic missionaries, though one is in some doubt as to whether the missions promoted imperialism or vice versa. The British Government, on the other hand, at least until the advent of Disraeli at the end of the period, had almost to be dragged into each new acquisition—dragged by the zeal of missionaries, traders, ambitious consuls, and above all by the clamor of the Australian and New Zealander colonists, who had their own notions of the manifest destiny of Oceania.

Miss Brookes appears to have consulted most of the printed sources and has made liberal use of archival material in London and Washington. The pertinent material in French archives is not open to investigators. The chronological organization of the narrative—for the most part the story is told by decades—while having obvious disadvantages, serves well to bring out the interaction of competing national policies. An introductory chapter depicting the situation at the opening of the century would have been a useful addition.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

University of Buffalo.

*The Development of Hispanic America.* By A. CURTIS WILGUS. (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1941. Pp. xviii, 941. \$4.75.)

For years Professor Wilgus has been assembling an extensive bibliography on Hispanic America. Scholars have hoped he would publish this in one form or another to give them the benefit of his long research in this field. In the present work he has given us the cream of this bibliography and increased its value by including his references, as he develops the subject, from a wide variety of sources.



These may be found in the footnotes to the text, supplemented by extensive lists of monographic and other materials at the end of chapters, and in a bibliographical essay in the appendix. Not content with these aids, he has sprinkled the volume with over one hundred maps and tables, all characterized by striking clarity. Many are highly original in concept, such as the juxtaposition of the mission areas of California and Paraguay. Appended to the work are a glossary of Spanish and Portuguese terms, outlines of Hispanic constitutions, the comprehensive bibliographical essay on leading works since 1800, and a statistical table on the Americas. Finally, an index of some forty pages concludes the volume. Who could ask for more? As a working tool for the teaching of Hispanic-American history, Wilgus' volume easily supersedes all other texts in the field.

When we turn to the organization of the data we learn that Professor Wilgus contemplates no "radical departure from orthodoxy": topical for the colonial period, by countries for the national, and a section on international relations. A commendable feature is the rather full presentation of essential data, not usually found in texts, on the various subjects treated. Thus Brazil emerges more full-bodied than is ordinarily the case. This observation is also true regarding the account of the intellectual life of Latin America. The character of the work of the writers, painters and others, is indicated briefly so that his report is more than a list of names. So, too, he brings his survey of the various countries down to mid-1940 with the same full treatment. Thus emerge, for example, competent accounts of the Vargas dictatorship in Brazil, the administration of Aguirre Cerda in Chile, the presidencies of López and Santos in Colombia, and the Cárdenas period in Mexico. In the latter, the discussion of the oil expropriation is brief, but has all essential data, and is commendably detached in approach.

In the section on International Relations, he presents the field under the headings: Inter-Hispanic Relations, Monroeism, Imperialism, Pan Americanism, and Europe and Hispanic America. The reviewer is struck by the fact that the author has included the recent arrangements between the United States and Latin America under the heading of Imperialism and not Pan Americanism. His decision here is evidence that his extraordinarily factual account of Hispanic-American development has been guided by a critical faculty alive to the broader implications of the Americas' history.

ALFRED B. THOMAS.

University of Alabama.

*Relación del viaje que hizo a los presidios internos situados en la frontera de la América Septentrional perteneciente al rey de España.* By NICOLÁS DE LAFORA. [Con un liminar bibliográfico y acotaciones por Vito Alessio Robles.] (Mexico, D. F.: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939. Pp. 335.)

Sr. Vito Alessio Robles has some unique qualities which make him one of the best equipped to introduce Nicolás de Lafora's *Relación* to the world, in the form of an annotated account. Aside from serving his country as a diplomat on numerous occasions, he has been a professor of history for many years and, in this capacity, has written several studies of Mexico's northern frontier provinces. Moreover, he is a military engineer, as was Lafora and, as such, is in much better position to understand the latter's problems than would be one who had never followed that profession.

The original manuscript from which this transcription was taken is entitled: "Relacion del Viaje que de Orden del Excelentissimo Señor Virrèy Marquèz de Cruillas. Hizo. El Capitàn de Ingenieros D<sup>o</sup>. Nicolàs de la Fora, en Compañia del Mariscàl de Campo Marqu<sup>a</sup>. de Rubì, comisionado por Su Magestad. A la Revista de lo Presidios internos, zituados en la Frontera de la parte de la America Septentrional perteneciente al Rey." Although the edited version of the diary comes mainly from the document in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City, it was necessary to secure part of the material from the copy (or original) in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, for, as Herbert Eugene Bolton noted in his *Guide to materials for the history of the United States in the principal archives of Mexico* (Washington, D. C., 1913, p. 210), "some vandal has cut out folios 80-89 [of approximately 100 folios]." Sr. Alessio Robles was fortunate in discovering that a complete copy exists in Madrid. He immediately acquired microphotographs of the missing leaves, and thus was able to fill the gap created by the thievery.

Although the *Relación* was of value in its original form, the annotated version produced by Sr. Alessio Robles is worth much more to the student of the last days of Spanish domination over northern Mexico and southwestern United States. Aside from making the diary more readily available, he has carefully checked Lafora's latitudes and longitudes, modernized abbreviations and spellings of words, traced the antecedents and modernizations of place-names, and added valuable footnotes.

A short summary of Lafora's journey to the northern presidios is followed by a biographical sketch of the man himself. With this

introduction, the editor turns to the diary. This *Relación* comprises: an introduction, which recounts the reasons for the journey; twenty-four sections, which describe the actual journey; and a conclusion, which states that the frontier conditions are rapidly growing worse. An unannotated bibliography is listed after the diary, and it is followed by two indexes, one of proper names and the other of contents.

The diary is not a spectacular piece of writing. It was not intended as such. Rather, it is an accurate account of the trip made by Lafora and his comrades. In its simplicity lies its greatest virtue, for it gives an uncolored picture of what he saw and did. As a record of the early frontier, especially as annotated by Sr. Alessio Robles, it is invaluable to the student of mid-eighteenth century Spanish colonization in this portion of North America.

H. BENTLEY WELLS.

University of California.

*La Guaira: Causa y matriz de la independencia Hispano-Americana.*

By CASTRO FULGENCIO LÓPEZ. (Caracas: Editorial Elite, 1941. Pp. 172. Bs. 3.)

This is an appreciation, well defended by historical data, of the part that La Guaira has played in the formation and evolution of Venezuela. The conquest of the coast from the Indians, including the exploits of the famous mestizo, Fajardo, the foundation of the city as a port of entry for Caracas, and its defense of the coast and the capital from English, French, and Dutch corsairs are treated with some detail. Great emphasis is placed on the Guipuzcoa Company and the Basque element introduced by it, as the basis of the economic and intellectual progress of the country. The books and ideas brought in "Los Navios de la Ilustración" formed the intellectual background for the Revolution of Gual and España, a revolution which Parra-Pérez declares "already had a distinctly independent character and the program of its authors was much more daring than that of the men of 1808" (quoted p. 65). To José María España, a native of La Guaira, the author attributes the initiation of the movement for independence not only in Venezuela, but in all Hispanic America.

Under the Republic, López insists, La Guaira has been overshadowed by Caracas and neglected by the National Treasury. Too little money had been spent on its improvement, physical and social, compared to what it contributes to the state. He deplores the fact that this chief port of entry has been allowed to fall into decay.



There exists here, he holds, the most beautiful colonial architecture of all Venezuela, the merits of which are seldom recognized.

From the entrance of the Guipuzcoa Company, La Guaira has played an important part in the intellectual history of Venezuela. She has been modest in her claims in this field, affected by an inferiority complex due perhaps to the fact that her intellectual leaders are engaged in commerce and do not have the social prestige of the élite of Caracas. The author gives a brief appraisal of an impressive group of leaders in the press, in literature, in education, in politics, in the church, and in military life. Among these is Vargas, "the purest Venezuelan of all time." One wonders why Pérez Bonalde is not included among the writers.

The author, a native of La Guaira, is a contemporary of some note in Venezuela. This book deserves high place among local histories.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.

*La Liquidación de la guerra de la triple alianza contra el Paraguay.*

By EDUARDO AMARILLA FRETES. (Asunción: Imprenta Militar, 1941. Pp. 135.)

This little book recounts the diplomatic negotiations during the Paraguayan war, 1865-1870. It is primarily a patriotic defense of the gallant little Republic. The author dedicates the work to his grandfather who was *Mayor de Artillería* in that devastating conflict, to his father, and to the sacred memory of those who fell in the Chaco War as well as to the armed forces of Paraguay.

The study deals exclusively with diplomatic negotiations and the writer makes no attempt to report military events. Dr. Fretes explains that he attempted to tell the whole truth with the object of correcting errors which have crept into historical accounts. He blames all errors that are currently accepted as having been written chiefly by "the conquerors over the cadavers of the vanquished."

The book opens with a discussion of the Treaty of May 1, 1865, which was framed to rob Paraguay of the Chaco for the benefit of Argentina. During the resultant war, Paraguay, according to the author, put its faith in *títulos* rather than in strength of arms. Taking advantage of the rift between Brazil and Argentina, the tiny republic was able to oppose the most extreme Argentine claims.

From this study, Dr. Fretes ventures to advise his nation to be resolute in her international relations and unyielding of territory; to

wait if necessary and to resort to arbitration whenever possible, basing that stand on the principle that right is might. He appreciates open and frank diplomacy, and argues that the Americas must renounce conquest. Nevertheless his major thesis is that the "Chaco Boreal belongs to Paraguay whose sons know how to defend it."

A. P. NASATIR.

San Diego State College.

*La Vida pasional e inquieta de Don Crecencio Rejón con una carta de Don Alberto María Carreño.* By CARLOS A. ECHÁNOVE TRUJILLO. (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1941. Pp. 483. 8.00 pesos.)

This volume was awarded the first prize by the Mexican Geographical and Statistical Society in 1939 and is to be given careful consideration accordingly. The picture painted by Sr. Echánove Trujillo is that of the turbulent third of a century following Mexican independence and demands skill and patience on the part of any author who dares to try to trace his hero through the constant shifts of party and factional strife. To add further complications in this case the subject, Crecencio Rejón, came from Yucatán. It will be remembered that the peninsula was always independently inclined and prompt to maintain its integrity against infringement of its political and economic interests by the region north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Rejón was a man who matured early and, though born in 1799, he struck forceful blows on behalf of Liberalism in the early 1820's. Becoming a Mason, he opposed Iturbide as a tyrant with something of the enthusiasm and fervor of a Patrick Henry. Fearing a strong central government, he urged a plural executive of three men and also stood for a low protective tariff for the sake of the masses of the nation who were purchasers and not beneficiaries of tariffs. The ardor of the man's campaigns on behalf of his ideas led to virulent newspaper articles which brought similar rejoinders. On at least one occasion these culminated in a street attack by thugs. When Santa Anna turned conservative in 1835, Rejón remained true to his ideas which were based on principles frankly derived from the United States. Five years later, in 1840, he had another opportunity to demonstrate his principles in the new constitution for Yucatán which he helped to draft. Again he stood for religious toleration, real power to be given to the judiciary and other similar principles.

Soon after this came the change when he returned to Mexico City, was reconciled to Santa Anna and took service under the despot to

go to Caracas and other Latin-American capitals to organize a kind of Latin-American union. Thus, to many readers Chapter XXIII becomes the most important of the volume for the light it sheds on the early proposals for such a union, even though nothing resulted directly from the efforts. On his return to the Capital Rejón became definitely affiliated with Conservatism. The author apparently approves the explanation that this resulted from his hatred of the ruthless and unscrupulous robber north of the Río Grande; but the critic wonders if Rejón had not already "sold out" to Santa Anna when, in the preceding year, he accepted a fat salary and expense account to go abroad as the dictator's representative. This brings up the weakest feature of the volume, i.e., the extreme bitterness displayed by the author in discussing the United States and its agents. Few now maintain that the United States was wholly without blame in some of its early dealings with Mexico, but to consider Poinsett as wholly unscrupulous and a rascal and to imply a reign of terror after Scott captured Mexico City, with citizens abused wholesale and whipped to death for little or no provocation, is unfortunate. Individual deplorable incidents probably occurred but sweeping generalizations and implications may well be questioned.

After Mexico City was captured Rejón joined the small group who wished to fight on to the bitter end. However, his career was over, his health broke and he died soon after.

For the foreign reader it might be pointed out that little of the private life of the hero is given. Occasional excellent glimpses of the life of the time are provided, notably a description of conditions in Yucatán (*ca.* p. 237) but these are all too infrequent for the reader who is anxious to picture the man in his setting so as more fully to appreciate his career. In fairness to Sr. Echánove it should be said that these details probably were omitted because of lack of space. All in all, except for the bias above mentioned, here is a valuable account of the political career of a man of power and significance in the early history of the Mexican Republic. The difficult task of reconstructing a character from manuscript sources, memoirs and accounts of the time is to be praised as well done. More such studies are needed in both Spanish and English.

W. H. CALLCOTT.

University of South Carolina.



*Highlights in the Debates in the Spanish Chamber of Deputies Relative to the Abandonment of Santo Domingo.* Edited by DAVID G. YUENGLING. (Washington, D. C.: Murray & Heister, 1941. Pp. xi, 181. \$1.50.)

The second Spanish period in Santo Domingo, 1861-1865, was a product of secession in the United States, making the Monroe Doctrine temporarily ineffective, of a desire on the part of a Dominican group to perpetuate itself in power as well as to protect the country from the Haitians, and of other considerations which cannot be mentioned here. Nothing was accomplished in four years by way of making the country governable or profitably exploitable. Revolts from 1863 on had cost Spain more than she could afford in men (disease being a factor) and in treasure. Defeat to date, dark prospects for the long future, and the impending close of the American Civil War decided the question of Spanish withdrawal before the March (1865) debates, reported in this book. Hence these must be regarded as attempts to save Spain's face as far as possible, and as jockeyings of politicians and political groups with their own future in mind rather than that of Santo Domingo.

Considering that this last constitutes the main interest in the debates, footnotes or other explanations making the Spanish political situation clearer would have helped. Some of the quaint English into which translation has been made is ungrammatical, and some is even unintelligible. One gets a hazy idea of what "forming swift relations as to the effects to be given" (last sentence, p. 3) was probably intended to mean. "Malintentioned ones" and people who "propel" ideas (p. 30) are merely quaint or crude half-translations. "Data . . . does not agree" (p. 125) is one of many samples of incorrect English grammar. "They brought here the so much per cent officials from all the armies and all the modern wars" (p. 94) is gibberish. Debates are nearly always interesting, and these are above average in that respect, but they should be presented in the original language or made fully intelligible in some other.

M. M. KNIGHT.

University of California, Berkeley.

*The Maya and Their Neighbors.* Edited by CLARENCE L. HAY, RALPH L. LINTON, SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, HARRY L. SHAPIRO and GEORGE C. VALLANT. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940. Pp. xxiii, 606. Illus. \$6.00.)

This book is a collection of essays by thirty-four scholars, but not a heterogeneous one. Evidently each subject was assigned to the

author, or the choice of subject was related to a general plan. In addition, the last paper is "a critical synthesis" of the others.

The papers are grouped under four heads: "The Background of the Maya," "The Maya," "The Northern Neighbors of the Maya," and "The Southern Neighbors of the Maya." Interest is centered on the pre-Columbian high Indian cultures or civilizations, with modern ethnology being included in relation to them. In the main, the book deals in history, and especially in historical implications and reconstructions based on archaeological research. Of the latter there has been a great deal in recent years. Here is a chance for appraisal of what is being done and might be done with archaeological and related methods, by a large group of North American scholars. The editors did not hesitate to include "A criticism of the intellectual basis on which Middle American archaeologists conduct their research."

The broad point of view of the editors will be indicated by the main subjects covered. Race, physiography, crops and soils, linguistics, Maya epigraphy, Maya astronomy are represented, in addition to the categories with which archaeologists are more directly concerned. Under the latter head it will be evident that the study of ceramic remains as a historical index, so fruitful in our American southwest, has come into its own south of the Rio Grande, and that architecture and sculpture there are now being studied in a similar detailed manner. All lines of evidence are being brought to bear on problems of origin and of inter-regional influences and migrations, as the concluding chapter makes plain. In general, the papers show differences of opinion on fundamentals, and a challenge to the simple picture of the Maya as a mother-culture responsible for all the more complex and "higher" manifestations of Indian civilization.

A good many of the papers assume a prior knowledge of the field covered, but not all. Especially valuable to anyone desiring to inform himself further are several papers which serve as introductions to, and statements of, the present status of special fields. Such are those on native Middle American languages, and a new linguistic map; on archaeological problems of the Highland Maya and of the Lowland Maya; on Maya epigraphy; on Maya chronology and astronomy; on Maya ceremonial and domestic architecture; on regional ceramic sequences; and on the archaeology, or particular aspects of it, in particular regions outside the Maya country. In general all papers are by the authors best qualified to write on the specific subjects chosen; since the latter are so penetrating the book is required

reading for anyone specifically interested in the American Indian civilizations. It shows, however, that the time for general and authoritative synthesis suitable for uncritical use in other fields has not yet arrived.

The inclusion of only one Latin-American scholar has its explanation in the inspiration for the book. He is a former student of Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer of Harvard University. A careful reading between the lines of the preface shows that the book could not be labeled a *Festschrift* in Dr. Tozzer's honor, but that it is such, nevertheless. Papers of the few authors not at one time or another in close contact with Dr. Tozzer as teacher or colleague at Harvard were necessary to avoid important lacunae in the plan of the book. It does him great honor.

LINTON SATTERTHWAITE, JR.

University of Pennsylvania.

*Los Mayas antiguos.* Edited by CÉSAR LIZARDI RAMOS. (Mexico, D. F.: El Colegio de México, 1941. Pp. 361. Paper.)

This volume is a handsome and scientifically important monument to the regard in which modern Mayan specialists hold the memory of John L. Stephens, a century after his explorations. It is a collection of eighteen papers by experts, issued as a memorial of the one-hundredth anniversary of Stephens and Catherwood's explorations, which first placed before the American and European public an accurate notion of the ruined glories of the Mayas and served as a basis for the scientific investigations which have revealed many of the details of one of the most remarkable cultures of world history.

To the general reader, the historian, or the anthropologist who is not a specialist in Maya archaeology, the most rewarding papers are probably "Cien Años después de Stephens" by Enrique Juan Palacios, "Stephens, and Prescott, Bancroft, and Others," by Alfred M. Tozzer of Harvard, and "The Archaeological Matrix of Maya History," by George C. Vaillant. The sixty-seven-page paper by Palacios is a remarkably compact review of the history of Maya studies during the past one hundred years. In it archaeological advances are sketched, the contributions of each investigator described and evaluated, and the part of each institution and program placed in the general setting. This should be required reading for anyone wishing to orient himself in the field of Maya studies. Tozzer has gathered together some of Stephens' correspondence with leading historians, particularly that with Prescott. The letters cast a revealing light upon



certain facets of the explorer's personality, and indicate in some degree that his influence on his time was not limited entirely to "travel-book readers." Vaillant's short paper is devoted to an outline of the general cultural background in Middle America out of which Maya culture grew. It is based upon a reconciliation of the epigraphic (inscription) and the stratigraphic (primarily, ceramic) evidences. From this point of view the Maya cultures represent merely one group of cultures which evolved from a general Middle culture phase, and later were overlaid by Mexican influences. Recent finds incline Vaillant to regard the Vera Cruz coastal plain as the source of Maya culture.

Other papers in the volume are, Arthur E. Gropp, "Bibliografía de John Lloyd Stephens"; Hermann Beyer, "The Variants of Glyph D of the Supplementary Series"; Alfred Berrera Vásquez, "La Significación de los Morfemas Zak(sak) y Chiic en los nombres Sacbé y Sacchic(sensontle)"; Enrique Juan Palacios, "Perspectivas Emanadas del Vocablo 'Huasteca'"; J. Eric Thompson, "Apuntes sobre las Supersticiones de los Mayas de Socotz, Honduras Británica"; Alfonso Villa Rojas, "Dioses y Espíritus Paganos de los Mayas de Quintana Roo, México"; E. Wyllys Andrews, "Pustunich, Campeche: Some further related sculptures"; Lawrence Roys, "Masonry Traits Found at Mayapán"; Miguel Ángel Fernández, "El Templo No. 5 de Tulum, Q. R."; Linton Satterthwaite, Jr., "Some Central Petén Maya Architectural Traits at Piedras Negras"; Robert Wauchope, "Effigy Head Vessel Supports from Zacualpa, Guatemala"; César Lizardi Ramos, "El Glifo B y la Sincronología Maya-cristiana"; Baqueiro Fóster, "El Secreto Armónico y Modal de un Antiguo Aire Maya"; J. Fernando Juárez Muños, "Piezas Arqueológicos Mayas"; and Alfredo Barrera Vásquez, "Sobre la Significación de Algunos Nombres de Signos del Calendario Maya."

In summary, the volume is not only a splendid memorial to the forerunner of Maya studies; it is also a useful compendium of general information on the field, and a collection of recent technical finds. Its publication by the Colegio de México reminds us again that the present generation of Mexican scientists are worthy guardians of the archaeological and historical heritage with which they have been entrusted.

JOHN GILLIN.

Duke University.

*An Analysis of Inca Militarism.* By JOSEPH BRAM. [Monographs of the American Ethnological Society. IV.] (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1941. Pp. vii, 85. \$1.50.)

This brief and well-organized monograph has great importance for students of pre-Spanish culture in the Andean area. It sets out to do for the military aspects of Incaic civilization what Professor Louis Baudin did in his *L'empire socialiste des Incas* (Paris, 1928) for the social, political, and economic aspects. Dr. Bram has done his work so well that this book is worthy to be set alongside of Baudin's masterpiece of interpretation. In fact, the two complement one another to a notable extent. Quite rightly, Dr. Bram bases his study on the chief literary sources available, that is, on the Chronicles written after the Conquest by men of Indian blood and by Spaniards. Of these sources he gives a succinct but satisfactory account. Upon this solid basis Dr. Bram rests his series of four illuminating chapters.

In the first he takes up the pre-Incaic political and social institutions, and also the "ayllu" and its dual divisions. On the latter he throws some new and useful light. In Chapter II he discusses the building of the Inca state. In so doing, he depicts the Inca rule as rather more oppressive and tyrannical than do either Baudin or the present writer in their respective books. He does so in spite of his acknowledgment that persuasive rather than violent methods of conquest were used by the Incas whenever possible and that, after a conquest was completed, a degree of lenience was shown to the vanquished chiefs. Chapter III is a masterly analytical account of every aspect of Incaic military technique. It is strange, however, that in his section on fortresses (pp. 61-62) Dr. Bram only barely mentions that greatest of all Inca fortresses, Sacsahuaman. One wishes that he had devoted at least a page to its entrant and re-entrant angles and to the other features of this marvel of military construction.

Chapter IV deals with the determining factors in the military expansion of the Inca state. Dr. Bram divides the factors into two main groups, economic and ideological. In regard to the former, he seems to me somewhat to overstress the wealth-getting motive of Inca conquests; he throws too much emphasis on the wish to acquire lands, flocks, mines and so on. In regard to the ideological factors, he duly emphasizes the building up of the prestige and dominance of the Inca family and of the nobility (chieftains of formerly independent states for the most part). What Dr. Bram says about the two groups of factors is in large measure true. But it might have been better to

say that Inca conquests arose chiefly from a wish for power to spread the benefits of Inca rule, of Inca sun-worship, and of Inca civilization generally, among the unenlightened folk beyond the frontier. Dr. Bram evidently disagrees with my own belief that there was much more of the best kind of missionary spirit behind the constant policy of expansion than there was of a hunger to own other people's possessions. His view is, of course, legitimate as an opinion, and it is impressively sustained by him.

Altogether, this is an admirable piece of research work. It is accompanied by a very good bibliography. We may all hope for valuable later contributions from Dr. Bram, and in them let us urge him to insert illustrations, perhaps to be drawn from the *Picture Chronicle* by Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala, published in facsimile from the Copenhagen manuscript of about 1587 or later by the Institut d'Ethnologie at Paris in 1936.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Pomfret, Conn.

*Cuarenta años de cautiverio. Memorias del Inka Juan Bautista Túpac Amaru.* [Los pequeños grandes libros de historia americana. Série I, Tomo I.] (Lima: Editorial Domingo Miranda, 1941. Pp. 160. 2.50 Peruvian soles.)

This volume, designedly or not, will revive all the venerable disputes concerning the black legend of Spanish action in the new world. The *Memorias* of Túpac-Amaru's half-brother were composed in Buenos Aires 1822-1826 and, though published there in 1826, has become a very rare item, for only two copies are known. Juan Bautista Túpac Amaru tells the sad story of his treatment in Peru after the 1780 rebellion collapsed and of his imprisonment of almost forty years in Spain and Ceuta, where he came to know the Argentine naval hero Juan Bautista Azopardo. Freed at last in 1822, the Inca sailed to Buenos Aires and through Azopardo's influence and interest, Rivadavia provided an Argentine government pension for the octogenarian Inca chief. The *Memorias* here reprinted were written during the few years that remained before his death in 1826.

The initiative for the printing of this volume was due to Francisco A. Loayza who adds greatly to its value by providing many explanatory footnotes and also illustrative documents from the Archive of the Indies. The whole trend of this work, it should be noted, is to point out the cruelty of the Spaniards and thus is at the opposite end



of the pole from the recent study by another Peruvian, Raúl Porras Barrenechea, "Pizarro el Fundador."

LEWIS HANKE.

Hispanic Foundation,  
Library of Congress.

*Utcubamba. Investigaciones arqueológicas en el valle de Utcubamba* (Departamento de Amazonas, Perú). By GENERAL LOUIS LANGLOIS, translated from the unpublished French by JOSÉ EUGENIO GARRO. (Lima: Publicaciones del Museo Nacional. Servicio de Traducciones, No. 3, 1939. Pp. 106.)

The late General Louis Langlois has added some valuable observations to those of his few archaeological predecessors in a little known part of northern Peru. The Utcubamba is a southern tributary of the great Marañón River, and is still difficult of access. The town of Chachapoyas, in the center of the archaeological zone under consideration, will probably place the region in the minds of most readers more readily than would the Utcubamba itself.

The paper is a systematic archaeological survey, dealing with the scanty historical accounts, site descriptions, mortuary practices and artifacts found on the surface. No excavations were made. The large ruins, usually on high ridges, at such sites as Teya and Cuelap, are local in character, although the stone terraces and buildings share some architectural traits with more southerly Peruvian centers. The corbelled vault is a case in point. The sites are probably of fairly late date, but they do not seem to have been much affected by Inca influence. The same is true of what little pottery has been collected, which shows some relationship to the Late Chimu black ware and possibly to the little-known pottery of the Cajamarca region. No lost-color wares have been reported. Mummies encased in large clay cones with heavy clay masks were found in the ledges high on the cañon walls of this rugged country.

It is too early to place the Chachapoyas remains in an archaeological scheme largely based on ceramic classification. General Langlois' reconnaissance indicates the desirability of excavation to determine the range of pottery types and their associations. Unfortunately many of the half-tones of sites and pottery are so poor as to be quite useless.

ALFRED KIDDER II.

Harvard University.

*Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias durante los siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII.*

Volumen I, 1509-1534. Edited by CRISTÓBAL BERMÚDEZ PLATA. [Publicación del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Patronato Menéndez y Pelayo, "Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo."] Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1940. Pp. xvi, 518. Paper.)

This catalogue of passengers to the Indies is a revision of that compiled by the staff of the Archivo General de las Indias, under the direction of Don Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata, Director. The first edition was published in 1930 by the Inspección General de Emigración. Except for the addition of two illustrations, a list of passengers for the year 1534, a geographical index, a list of ship masters, and a general index in the 1940 edition, there is little appreciable difference between the two. The foreword by the Duke of Alba is the same in both; and the introductions by the editor are word for word the same in some paragraphs. All in all, however, the 1940 edition is an improvement, incorporating as it does corrections and additions. For any who may be interested in the names, occupations, families, provincial origins, and proposed destinations of passengers, this publication contains a wealth of information.

Beginning with the year 1509, the first item listed reads as follows:

- 1.—Millán Gutiérrez, Bachiller en Artes, clérigo de misa, natural de Yanguas, diócesis de Calahorra, hijo de Diego Gutiérrez del Tejo.—1 Diciembre. I-1.

The last item of the year 1534 is listed as:

- 5320.—Catalina Martín la Delgada, viuda, mujer que fué de Bartolomé Sánchez de Gandul, difunto, hija de Pedro González de Fuentes y de Isabel Sánchez, natural de Arahá. A Nueva España.—19 Diciembre. III-121.

As can be seen from these examples, the later listing gives more information than does the first. In both instances, however, under the numbered item there is given the name of the passenger, occupation or status, parentage, birthplace, and date of recording. In addition, the 1534 listing includes the name of the husband and the proposed destination of the passenger. The destination was not generally given for early passengers. The numerals at the end of each listing refer to the volume and page number in *legajo 5536* of the section Casa de Contratación, in the Archivo General de las Indias.

The inclusion, in the 1940 edition, of the year 1534 is of utmost importance for a study on emigration to the Indies. For that year, 1,388 separate listings are included. This reviewer found only forty-five names for 1534 in "Pasajeros a Indias" (1534-1588) in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América* (14 vols. Madrid, 1930—), VIII and XIII.

Although a separate listing is usually made for each passenger who sailed to the Indies, many are listed together. For instance, Gonzalo Hernández and Bartolomé de Jerez, brothers, are included in item 3938 for January 23, 1534. Item 3864 for October 8, 1528, includes the names of several hundred passengers who accompanied García de Lerma to Santa Marta. Consequently 5,320 listings are not indicative that only 5,320 passengers sailed to the Indies from 1509 to 1534.

The indices of the 1940 edition are much more inclusive than those of the 1930 edition. Besides the index for individuals, which is greatly augmented by the addition of passengers for 1534, the geographical index is helpful in a determination of the origin of passengers sailing to the Indies. The list of ship captains is also valuable, showing as it does the dates of sailing by years.

This volume should be in the library of anyone interested in emigration to the Indies during the Spanish colonial period. Despite the relatively cheap paper upon which it is printed, the information is there. It is hoped that Don Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata and his associates will see their way clear to compile successive volumes covering the years after 1534.

AUBREY NEASHAM.

The National Park Service.

*Doctrinas y realidades en la legislación para los Indios.* By GENARO V. VÁSQUEZ. (Mexico, D. F.: Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas, 1940. Pp. vi, 503.)

This work, prepared under the auspices of the *Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas* of Mexico, is born of a desire on the part of the Mexican government to be fully acquainted with the historical aspects of the problem of the welfare of the Indians. The selections set down in this volume were not made in order to support any point of view in regard to praise or condemnation of the famous Laws, but to set apart for special consideration those statutes which referred particularly to the protection and defense of the Indians. "It would be useless," writes Sr. Vázquez, "to make impassioned charges against the *Gobierno de la Colonia*; more useless yet to seek or construct ar-



guments in defense of the Spanish crown. Each fulfilled the mission of its time. . . ."

But, as the knowledge of past errors should be wisdom used to avoid similar errors in the future, continues the author, it is desirable to investigate dispassionately the colonial epoch, in the hope that the direct study of its principal outlines and ramifications will make for a better understanding of one of Mexico's greatest problems—that of the Indian.

The desire for an eight-hour work day for Indian laborers was expressed in a statute of 1593. Frequent examples are shown of attempts to fix and safeguard the salaries of the Indians. To quote the author: "Protection against a diversity of abuses is constant and at times repetitious. There are many resolutions recommending better treatment of the Indians; others which condemned the bad treatment."

Historical investigation to determine the faults which impeded the proper performance of the Laws of the Indies has advanced greatly. Sometimes it was the lack of sufficient sanction in the law itself that caused its failure to perform satisfactorily; other times, it was the lack of effective instruments to enforce the law, or to investigate its violation; still other times, it was the collusion of the authorities and the *encomenderos* and the capitalists of every sort for the violation of the law which prevented its proper operation.

In spite of the fact that the primary purpose of this book is intended to facilitate the solving of specific problems, it offers readily accessible material for scholars interested in the Spanish colonial period in general.

DONALD E. WORCESTER.

Naval Air Station,  
San Juan, P. R.

*An Outline History of Spanish American Literature.* Prepared under the auspices of the Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana by a committee consisting of E. H. HESPELT, Chairman and Editor, I. A. LEONARD, J. T. REID, J. E. ENGLEKIRK and J. A. CROW. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1941. Pp. xxii, 170. \$1.60.)

This book has five sections as follows: Leonard, The Colonial Period (1519-1808); Reid, The Period of Struggle for Independence (1808-1826); Hespelt, The Nineteenth Century before Modernism (1826-1888); Crow, Modernism-Realism (1888-1910); Englekirk, The

Contemporary Period (1910-1941). In an appendix is a bibliographical introduction to Brazilian literature. A selective bibliography precedes the text, and an index of authors terminates the book. Each section of the book contains an introductory summary with historical background and "influential factors," followed by a list of authors, classified according to genres. Authors assigned to the highest rank have two stars, others of outstanding merit one star. This device, even though practical, seems a little undignified and arbitrary and possibly at times misleading. After each general discussion and each separate author there are admirable bibliographical suggestions.

The volume is precisely what its title indicates—an outline history. In it a reader can quickly and conveniently get orientation in any period of Spanish-American literature or in the study of any of the one hundred and twenty-one authors included (sixteen in the first period, ten in the second, twenty-four in the third, twenty-four in the fourth, forty-seven in the fifth). It is a splendid example of practical common sense and typical of the genius of this country for organization. If it seems to some readers a little mechanical, it may be answered that the book is meant to be a useful, systematic outline of the elements for critical and "spiritual" study. The present reviewer considers it an excellent work splendidly carried out. However, he expresses the hope that in some way it may be found possible to issue a version in Spanish, for he thinks it pedagogically sound to accustom our advanced students to a maximum use of instruments in Spanish or Portuguese.

JOHN VAN HORNE.

University of Illinois.

*Don Gregorio Beéche y los bibliógrafos americanistas de Chile y del Plata.* By RAFAEL ALBERTO ARRIETA. (La Plata: Biblioteca Humanidades, editada por la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de La Plata, 1941. Tomo XXVI. Pp. 220.)

The author of the book under review has set for himself a double task: First, to render justice to the pioneer bibliophile in southern Latin America and, second, to bring into bolder relief the bibliographic interests and preoccupations of Argentine and Chilean men of letters. The two topics are of course inseparable, for Don Gregorio Beéche's love of books and his constant endeavors to increase his collection of Americana brought him into close contact with some of the foremost intellectuals of his time. Diego Barros Arana, Benjamín

Vicuña Mackenna, Juan María Gutiérrez, Domingo F. Sarmiento and Bartolomé Mitre—all had at one time or another enjoyed the hospitality of Beéche's home and had made frequent use of his collection and of his knowledge of books. This alone should be sufficient justification for a full-size portrait of this modest and retiring bibliophile who, in a very real sense, reflected the intellectual and cultural life of mid-nineteenth century Argentina and Chile.

In the opinion of this reviewer the author has failed to accomplish either of the two tasks defined in the title of the work. Of Beéche's life and activities in Chile we learn very little except, of course, that he developed a passion for books. As the narrative unfolds the author appears to be losing interest in the main *dramatis persona*. When Beéche reappears in the foreground it is only to give the author an opportunity to present copious transcriptions from the correspondence of Gutiérrez, Mitre and others. These excerpts, interesting though they are, can hardly offer an adequate presentation of the thoughts and deeds of the outstanding bookmen of the period. So, instead of a broad survey of the history of bibliography in Argentina and Chile we have little more than a mere collection of hastily assembled notes and essays. Of the latter, one at least appears to be largely irrelevant to the main topic under discussion. Reference is made here to the tragic story of Santiago Viola (Chapter IX, pp. 116-160).

The author has a facile style and a genuine understanding of books. When not hampered by the complex structure of the book (a self-imposed limitation) his narrative is clear and convincing. Sr. Arrieta is at his best when he recounts the exciting story of the Pedro Lozana manuscript of the *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia del Paraguay, Río de la Plata y Tucumán*. For pages like these the reader will readily forgive a multitude of sins. The author is to be commended for the inclusion of documentary material in an appendix. The following material, published and unpublished, is assembled under this heading: Report on Beéche's collection prepared by Manuel Guillermo Carmona for the Sociedad de Amigos de la Ilustración; an unpublished letter from Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna to Juan María Gutiérrez; and an article by Vicuña Mackenna written on the occasion of Beéche's death. There is also a useful index of names mentioned in the work.

MIRON BURGIN.

Library of Congress.



*Centro de Estudios Históricos. Universidad Nacional de La Plata.*  
(La Plata: Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 1941. Pp. 31-339.)

The Centro de Estudios Históricos of the National University of La Plata in Argentina has for a decade or more been dedicated to the promotion of historical research and to its dissemination by means of publication and lectures. Since 1934 the work of this and other research centers of the university has appeared in an annual number of the university *Boletín* entitled "Labor de los Centros de Estudios." The volume before us is a "separate" drawn from the issue for 1940. It includes the labors of the Centro during the years 1938 and 1939.

This organization performs within the University of La Plata somewhat the same functions as does the celebrated Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas for its elder sister, the University of Buenos Aires. A few individuals coöperate in both. While each is devoted to the stimulation of historical investigation, the Instituto of Buenos Aires has been concerned chiefly with the creation of a great archive of transcripts of documents bearing upon Argentine history from sources outside the republic, and with the publication of a massive quarterly historical *Boletín* and of a lengthy and notable series of monographs. The La Plata institution reaches the fraternity of scholars and the general public mainly by way of the lecture platform and the radio. On the other hand, it has collaborated closely with the Archivo Histórico of the Province of Buenos Aires in the task of evaluating and cataloging the documentary sources for the history of the towns of the province. The outcome has been a series of town histories published by the Archivo Histórico, many of them written by members of the Centro.

The volume under review includes eighteen studies, all but five of which relate to the history of Argentina. Of these five only two lie outside the area of Latin America. This represents pretty faithfully the distribution of historical interest among Argentine scholars. Virtually all of their energies to date have been concentrated upon the history of their own country. The studies themselves as printed vary greatly in length and character. Some consist of abstracts only, of a few pages or even of a few paragraphs. At the other end of the scale are full-dress performances with elaborate footnotes and documentary appendices. Among the more interesting and important of the latter, at least in the judgment of the reviewer, are the following: *El criterio historiográfico del cronista mayor don Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas*, by Juan F. de Lázaró; *La reacción en Buenos Aires después del sitio de Lagos* by Andrés R. Allende; and "El Lazarillo

*de Ciegos Caminantes y su problema histórico*," by Walter B. L. Bose. Several of the shorter articles also deserve special mention, notably *La ruptura de Montevideo con la Junta de Mayo*, by Roberto H. Marfany; and *Mármol y la revolución del 11 de setiembre*, by Juan Sidoti. Scholars whose peculiar weakness is interest in the history of the Argentine Republic can always look forward to the appearance of four periodical publications, the one just reviewed, the *Boletín* of the Instituto de las Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires, the annual *Boletín* of the Academia Nacional de la Historia, and the *Anuario* of the Sociedad de Historia Argentina.

CLARENCE H. HARING.

Harvard University.

*Formación y proceso de la literatura Venezolana.* By MARIANO PICÓN-SALAS. (Caracas: Editorial Cecilio Acosta, 1940. Pp. 272. Bs. 8.)

The editors of this book point out that it is the first "serious and conscientious attempt" toward a critical history of Venezuelan literature made by a Venezuelan. The work has received high praise from scholars in Venezuela and in other Hispanic-American states. It is a survey of the evolution of literature in relation to the racial, political, and social history of the country. The author seeks in this and in other recent historical studies to contribute to the awakening of a critical self-consciousness among Venezuelans and to the political, social, and cultural integration of his people. The volume is intended primarily for use as a textbook in Venezuelan schools. The author disclaims in his introduction any attempt at an exhaustive, or even a comprehensive, history of Venezuelan literature. Certain obstacles would make such an achievement very difficult; foremost among them the lack of access to the works themselves. Much Venezuelan literature has been written abroad by those in exile and published in the ephemeral form of newspaper articles or pamphlets; and that published in these same forms within the country often does not exist in accessible collections. Another obstacle to the production of a larger work is the cost of publication which, he declares, practically prohibits the publication of a book beyond three hundred pages. Even a panorama, he admits, should include certain chapters which he omits: a study of folklore, and the songs and stories of the *llaneros*, for example, and of the theater. Incidentally, he does treat of folklore in his discussion of the *costumbristas* and of some recent novelists and poets. He includes also an interesting comment on Venezuelan colonial musical productions, "uno de los milagros de la cultura Venezolana" (pp. 59-66).

A surprisingly large amount of factual data and critical appreciation in a simple, clear, and restrained prose is compressed in these two hundred and forty-five pages (exclusive of a classified bibliography and an index). Valuable as a survey of literary history and criticism, its comments on political, juridical and sociological studies, not always included in literary history, make the work a useful contribution to historical bibliography. In the historical field the main development of the nineteenth century was the transition from the romantic history of the Wars for Independence exemplified in Larrazábal, J. V. González, or Eduardo Blanco to the modern school of critical history with its analysis of racial and sociological bases of politics, represented by Gil Fortoul, Arcaya, Vallenilla Lanz, and others.

The interesting features of the book include the chapters on the press and its political and social influence under the Oligarchy, especially in its outstanding figure, Antonio Guzmán; the account of the place of the various Academias in intellectual and literary history, and of such periodicals as *El Cojo Ilustrado* and *Cosmópolis*; the story of the influence of the university in the late colonial period, under the administration of Vargas in the early republic, and in the 1880's and 1890's through the exponents of the new scientific ideas and techniques and the philosophy of positivism. Suggestive characterizations of certain picturesque figures in Venezuelan literature—Tulio Febres Cordero, the patriarch of the Andes, Aristides Rojas, Felipe Tejera, Lisandro Alvarado, Samuel Darío Maldonado, and others—enlarge one's sympathy and understanding of the subject.

Although he is conversant with European and American intellectual culture and treats of the various foreign influences on Venezuelan thought, Picón-Salas's intellectual orientation has been primarily Hispanic American. From 1923 to 1936 he lived in Chile as student and teacher, closely identified with literary and educational developments in that country.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.



## BOOK NOTICES

*Nuevos estudios de paleografía española.* By AGUSTÍN MILLARES CARLO. (Mexico, D. F.: La Casa de España en México, 1941. Pp. x, 178. Illustrated. \$2.25.)

This book consists of four related monographs. The first is a study of writing in Spain in the Visigothic period, with special attention to the question whether a running hand had as yet developed. The second portion of the volume is a consideration of the Visigothic manuscripts which the author examined in the library of the cathedral at Toledo. The last two parts are a bibliography of Visigothic codices and a study, which the author warns is incomplete, of the Visigothic manuscripts in the National Library in Paris. It is obvious that Professor Millares is attempting to salvage what he can of work prosecuted in Europe before Spanish intellectuals, like himself, found America a safer place than the Iberian peninsula in which to pursue studies of even so remote an era as the Visigothic period.

These Spanish emigrés who frequent "The House of Spain in Mexico" bear high the intellectual standard of their native land. It should be some comfort to them to find recorded in Professor Agustín Millares Carlo's *Nuevos Estudios de Paleografía Española* the fact that the solid structure of Latin spirit, in which their accomplishments are comprised, has survived many vicissitudes not incomparable with those of our times.

I. A. WRIGHT.

Department of State.

*Statistical Activities of the American Nations.* Edited by ELIZABETH PHELPS. (Washington: Inter-American Statistical Institute, 1941. Pp. xxxi, 842. \$2.00.)

The Inter-American Statistical Institute makes an auspicious beginning with the publication of *Statistical Activities of the American Nations*. The volume includes a descriptive article in the language of the country for each of the American nations (including Canada), written by a prominent administrator of statistical services and designed to acquaint the reader with the activities relating to collection, processing and publication of social and economic information in the country; a summary in English and the language of the country; and

biographical information concerning statistical personnel. In an appendix there is reproduced the material on statistical sources of Latin America that originally appeared in *The Economic Literature of Latin America*.

Here, in a single volume, the Institute has provided an excellent introduction of statisticians to each other and to the tools and vehicles with which they are achieving results. The Institute has been fortunate in the membership of its Organizing Committee whose careful, well-thought-out approach has put the Institute on the road to a long and useful life. Miss Phelps must be complimented for a splendid editing job which is apparent throughout the volume.

Washington, D. C.

SIMON G. HANSON.

*Informação de história e etnografia.* By LUIZ DA CAMARA CASCUDO.  
(Rio de Janeiro: Priori & Cia., 1940. Pp. 211. Paper.)

Of the eight essays which are included in this volume, the first is devoted to a discussion of the vexing question of the discovery of Brazil. The author begins with the assumption that the basis for the theory of chance is that the westward divergence of the fleet of Pedro Álvares Cabral was due to a storm, the currents, or the force of winds. Losing sight of the fact that the Portuguese navigators with the fleet were among the most able of the period and that the navigation to India was the prime motive of the voyage, he proceeds to advocate the theory of intention, of secrecy and prior discovery. In this he follows closely the views of Admiral Gago Coutinho, to whom he often refers. The second essay is of greater interest. Since the author's home is in Natal, he became interested in and has seen the *padrão* of marble located near Cape São Roque, described by Alencar Araripe in 1890. The claim here made is that this was erected by Gaspar de Lemos and is the earliest colonial monument in Brazil. The conclusions reached in the chapters which follow may be accepted with greater confidence since in them the author, the President of the Sociedade Brasileira de Folk Lore, is more within his sphere. He concludes that the Indians of Brazil had a positive belief in the idea of private property, and that the custom of *couvade* is widespread among them. The tradition of a general deluge is almost universal among the natives and is more prevalent than a belief in the creation. The chapters on the legends relating to birds and meteorological superstitions are of interest. While this book has value it is more in the field of ethnology than of history.

Chicago, Ill.

WILLIAM B. GREENLEE.

*Calendar of Joel R. Poinsett Papers in the Henry D. Gilpin Collection.*

Edited by GRACE E. HELLMAN and BERNARD S. LEVIN. (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1941. Pp. xvi, 264. \$3.00.)

It is important to note that this is not a calendar of all the Poinsett Papers deposited in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The calendar deals, as the title indicates, only with the Poinsett materials in the Henry D. Gilpin Collection; other Poinsett materials in possession of that society fill more than twenty bound volumes. While students of the history of the United States and its foreign relations may wish that the whole of the Poinsett Papers had been included in this calendar, they cannot fail to be grateful for the full description of the 613 items contained in the volume now in review. The calendar is a thorough and useful publication, including a good index, a satisfactory introduction, and a Poinsett bibliography. The latter, however, does not include all of Poinsett's writings; nor does it list the good biography of Poinsett published by Herbert E. Putnam in 1935 in Washington, D. C. The Poinsett Papers described in the calendar cover the period from 1794 to 1855, but the bulk of them relate to the years 1837-1841, when Poinsett was secretary of war in Van Buren's cabinet. They illumine certain phases of the relations of the United States and Latin America and of the United States and Great Britain; they throw a flood of light on Southern and National politics; and they disclose the ideology of an able and versatile Southerner whose nationalism was usually stronger than his sectionalism.

J. FRED RIPPY.

University of Chicago.

*El comercio y la navegación entre España y las Indias en época de los Habsburgos.* By C. H. HARING; translated by LEOPOLDO LIANDAETA. (Caracas: Biblioteca Nacional, 1939. Pp. xxxiv, 416. Paper.)

*Los bucaneros de las Indias occidentales en el siglo xvii.* By C. H. HARING. (Caracas: Biblioteca Nacional, 1939. 2nd ed. Pp. 274. Paper.)

Credit for the appearance of these two volumes is shared by the Caracas Chamber of Commerce and National Academy of History of Venezuela. The translation of *The Buccaneers in the West Indies* was first published by the Chamber in 1925, and the Academy sponsored its reimpression in 1939. The Spanish version of *Trade and Navigation* appeared first as articles, beginning in 1921, in the *Boletín*



*de la Cámara de Comercio de Caracas.* The Cámara, having also published translations of three of Professor Haring's articles, finds it "beneficial to the culture of the Spanish-speaking countries of America to diffuse the works of Mr. Haring." Perhaps the pages of the REVIEW will suggest to the Venezuelans other monographs in English equally deserving of this honor.

*El Comercio y la Navegación* is a complete and faithful rendition of the original, including the notes, bibliography, appendices, and index. Indeed, one wonders if Sr. Landaeta has not taken too few of the usual liberties and precautions of a translator. Excerpts from Veitia Linaje and other Spanish sources appear as translations of Haring's English version of the original text; auditor becomes *auditor* in spite of the fact that the official was known as a *contador*; and Antúñez is a compromise between Antúnez and the Haring-given patronym, Antuñez. But these criticisms are petty in comparison with the over-all merits of making two important studies available to Spanish readers.

Duke University.

ROBERT S. SMITH.

*Texas in 1811. The Las Casas and Sambrano Revolutions.* [Yanaguana Society Publications, Vol. VI.] Edited by FREDERICK C. CHABOT. (San Antonio: Yanaguana Society, 1941. Pp. xvi, 146. \$5.00.)

Captain Juan Bautista Casas carried out a bloodless revolution in San Antonio on January 22, 1811. He deposed the royal officials, sent them away under guard, and recognized Hidalgo as his nominal chief. But Subdeacon Juan Manuel Sambrano planned a counter-stroke which fell on March 1-2. Casas was captured and later executed for treason. These minor events in the history of Spanish Texas have been seized upon by the Yanaguana Society as "stirring and transcendental episodes," worthy of a collection of documents.

A short foreword by Professor C. E. Castañeda and an introduction by Mr. Chabot provide a background for the Casas-Sambrano affair. The major portion of the book consists of depositions taken during the trial of Casas. This testimony contains the essential facts relating to the revolution and counter-revolution in which Casas and Sambrano were the chief actors. The section of miscellaneous materials concerning Sambrano help to explain his position in Texas. The remainder of the volume contains newspaper accounts, letters from John Sibley to the Secretary of War, and an irrelevant exposition addressed by Ignacio Elisondo to José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara in 1813.

Many of the difficulties inherent in the translation of historical documents have not been met successfully by the translators and the editor. The book has many technical imperfections. There are fifty or more typographical errors and misspelled words. The format is decidedly unattractive. Even the main title, *Texas in 1811*, is misleading. An index of proper names should have been included. Regrettable as these shortcomings may be, the volume is a valuable addition to published sources of early Texas history.

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN.

Louisiana State University.

*Don Andrés Bello y el poema del Cid.* By PEDRO GRASES. (Caracas, 1941. Pp. 91.)

The first great monument of Spanish literature, the epic poem *El Cantar de Mio Cid*, has inspired a long series of critical studies by scholars of many countries since this work, thought to have been written about 1140, first appeared in print in 1779. One of the important early commentators was that most distinguished South American man of letters of the first part of the nineteenth century, Andrés Bello (1781-1865). Compelled by political conditions in his native Venezuela to remain a poverty-stricken exile in London from his twenty-ninth to his forty-eighth year, he spent much time working at the British Museum. There his extensive reading of manuscript *chansons* and other material enabled him to make a more general comparison of the Spanish poem with French prototypes and to indicate its relationship with the *romans* and *gestes*. His study of these and other problems resulted in scattered articles and treatises in which he anticipated the findings of later scholars but, owing to his chronically limited means, he was never able to bring these important contributions together in a single, well-rounded critical study of the great epic as a whole. Near the end of his life and through the efforts of his many admirers the government of Chile, in which country he had given thirty-five years of fruitful labor, agreed to subsidize the publication of an edition of the *Poema del Cid*, but ill-health and death prevented the great scholar from putting an important part of his lifework into final form for the press.

The present brochure contains the second half of a lecture reciting these facts which the author delivered at the Central University of Venezuela in Caracas on June 25, 1941, as a part of the ceremonies in observance of the eighth centenary of the great Spanish poem. It is an interesting discourse based chiefly on the collected *Obras* of

Bello and the biography of that figure by Amunátegui. An appendix includes formal documents of the Venezuelan Academy relating to the event and press notices.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Brown University.

*The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848.* By ADELE OGDEN.  
(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941. Pp. 251. \$2.50.)

This scholarly and well-documented work tells the story of the California sea otter trade, the first and most profitable enterprise which contributed to the economic opening of the Pacific world and lured United States citizens and American products into Upper California during the Spanish and Mexican periods. Spain realized the value of the sea otter trade, promoted it, and tried to keep foreigners out of the California hunting grounds. The exclusive right of the Philippine Company to sell Oriental goods in America, however, hindered the trade and attempts of Spanish firms and individuals to develop it.

When the first Boston vessel arrived in California in 1796 the contest between the otter hunters and the upholders of the Spanish mercantile system began. This was followed by many other vessels whose captains persuaded the Spanish authorities to let them land to obtain supplies and then violated the laws by bargaining for otter skins. The Spanish commercial system kept tightening, the California Indians did not hunt otter on a large scale, and the mission fathers did not encourage trade for fear the natives might be exploited. Then the Yankees decided to hunt the otter by means of Aleuts from Alaska, who did it thoroughly. Soon the Yankees had to compete with independent Russian hunters, who penetrated the Spanish mercantile system farther than any other foreigners and refused to provide the Aleutian hunters for Americans.

The author shows that after the commercial opening of Spanish America vessels continued to take California furs to China along with their other cargoes. Under the Mexican régime the Russians retired altogether from the California otter grounds, but the Americans became naturalized citizens or contrabandists and continued to benefit from the otter trade.

In the Appendix of this excellent book one hundred and eighty-five vessels engaged in the California otter trade are identified. The work is based on the best kind of material collected from the archives of



Mexico, various libraries of the United States, and from private collections. The author has made a great contribution to California history.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Hunter College.

*Manual de historia de Cuba (económica, social y política), desde su descubrimiento hasta 1868, y un apéndice con la historia contemporánea.* By RAMIRO GUERRA Y SANCHEZ. (Habana: Cultural, S.H., 1938. Pp. x, 676. Cloth, \$5.00.)

As a textbook of Cuban history this volume is the best that has yet appeared. The clear readable style will appeal to the general reader, and the last three hundred pages of documented study of the years 1840 to 1868 is of particular value to the scholar. The history of the years preceding 1840 was compiled largely from secondary works, the story of the first century after the conquest being based, in great part, on a two-volume *Historia de Cuba* (Habana, 1921-1925) by the same author. Each chapter is followed by an excellent list of books for collateral study, and a fair index is included. Among several well-chosen maps which add to its value are two (pages 196 and 544) that illustrate the famous circular land-grant system used in colonial Cuba. A second volume on the period since 1868 is in preparation.

DUVON C. CORBITT.

Candler College.

*Apuntes para la historia del origen y desenvolvimiento del regio patronato indiano hasta 1857.* By JESÚS GARCÍA GUTIÉRREZ. Prólogo de GERMÁN FERNÁNDEZ DEL CASTILLO. [Publicaciones de la Escuela Libre de Derecho. Série B. Vol. IV.] (México, D.F.: Jus. Revista de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales, 1941. Pp. 331.)

This general history of the royal power in Spanish-American church affairs begins with Alfonso the Wise and ends with the Juárez laws of 1857 in Mexico. The author states (p. 70) that no adequate library exists in Mexico for a definitive treatment of this important topic, which doubtless explains his reliance upon the older standard works and the omission of references to most of the modern studies on the subject. The author's point of view is strictly and enthusiastically pro-papal. It is suggested that the influence of Luther's

teachings may have been responsible for Philip II's stern insistence on the control of ecclesiastical affairs in the Indies, and Sr. García Gutiérrez also considers that French Caesarism, rather than the Patronato, was the real inspiration for the Juárez laws separating church and state. The whole volume closely resembles an ecclesiastical lawyer's brief rather than an objective historical study and carries the reader back to the eighteenth century when Villarroel and Rivadeneira composed ponderous volumes on the Patronato. Even the footnotes are cited in the ancient style, directly in the text immediately after the statement for which the reference is given. In no respect does this study measure up to the work of Father Ángel Gabriel Pérez, *El Patronato Español en el Virreinato del Perú durante el Siglo XVI* (Tournai, 1937).

LEWIS HANKE

Hispanic Foundation,  
Library of Congress.

*El Testamento de Don Hernando Colón y otros documentos para su Biografía.* By JOSÉ HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ and ANTONIO MURO OREJÓN. (Sevilla: Publicaciones del Instituto hispano-cubano de historia de América, Fundación Rafael G. Abreu, 1941. Pp. xxxviii, 320.)

No other series of documents and monographs on the early history of the Americas maintains such consistent excellence as the Publicaciones del Instituto Hispano-Cubano, and the present volume exhibits the same high standards in selection, editing, and comment as its predecessors. In order to provide materials for the life of Ferdinand Columbus, the editors have published everything that they can find on him, his estate and his library in the Notarial Archive of Seville. Although some of these documents have been printed before, the editors have wisely included them with the *inéditos*; and the most important, viz.: Ferdinand's will, the declaration of his executor, Marcos Felipe, and the mutilated but still valuable inventory of his writings, are reproduced in fine, clear photographic facsimiles accompanied by printed texts.

Although these documents throw no new light on the writing of the famous *Historia . . . dell ammiraglio* or the fate of the manuscript, they afford many important details about the friends and relatives, the activities and tastes, the books and other property of the Admiral's more gifted son.

S. E. MORISON.

Harvard University.

*Diócesis y obispos de la iglesia mexicana, 1519-1939.* By JOSÉ BRAVO UGARTE, S.J. (Mexico, D. F.: "Buena Prensa," 1941. Pp. 99. Illus., paper.)

Many books and articles of a historical character and varying degrees of usefulness were published in 1940 to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the founding of the Society of Jesus. Among them this volume by Bravo Ugarte is a compilation of data regarding the structural history of the church in Mexico. It includes such material as the date of establishment of the dioceses, the bishops appointed, the dates of their service, and the number of parishes in each diocese at different times. Possibly the most useful section is that which lists the names of the parishes included in the present-day bishoprics. The book, therefore, will serve as a reference work; it does not pretend to contain any evaluation or synthesis of the materials presented.

The bibliography, of about 120 items, has the same character. It is composed primarily of sources, such as official collections of papal bulls, from which the author extracted names and dates. Use was also made of local church archives, especially that of the Archbishopric of Guadalajara.

JOHN S. FOX.

Washington, D. C.

*Los Jesuítas en Venezuela.* By MONSEÑOR NICOLÁS E. NAVARRO. (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1940. Pp. 77.)

This brief study of the history of the Jesuits in Venezuela, published on the fourth centenary of the foundation of the order, is concerned primarily with the colonial period. The author recognizes the slight activity of the Jesuits in Venezuela as compared to their work in Mexico, Paraguay, and certain other divisions of the Spanish Empire. He gives attention to their missionary efforts on the upper Orinoco, paying high tribute to the intellectual contributions of two of these Jesuit missionaries, Gumilla, author of *El Orinoco ilustrado*, and the Italian, Gilii, who wrote *Saggio di Storia Americana*; and discusses briefly the establishment of the colleges of Caracas, Maracaibo, and Mérida. There are five documents in the Appendix, three of them on the founding of the college in Caracas.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.



*Códice de Yanhuítlan.* (Mexico, D.F.: Museo Nacional, 1940. Pp. vii, 89. Paper.)

This post-Spanish manuscript concerns an Indian town in that part of northern Oaxaca known as the Mixteca Alta. Reproduced in facsimile and with the pictures and Aztec comment translated and explained by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno and Salvador Mateos Higuera, it reveals the operation of the *encomienda* method of procuring Indian labor, the activities of the religious orders and, best of all, the vitality of the Indians in adjusting themselves to a new life in which the raising of silkworms was an important phase. This work, prepared by the staff of the newly organized National Institute of Anthropology and History, is published in homage to the XXVIIIth Congress of Americanists.

HERBERT J. SPINDEN.

Brooklyn Museum.

*La Gesta emancipadora del Perú, 1822-23.* By J. M. VALEGA. (Lima: La Universidad de San Marcos, 1941. Vol. IV. Pp. x, 240. Paper, \$2.00.)

Volume IV of Valega's study of the independence movement of Peru appears to be a collection of postscripts to his previous work (cf. this REVIEW, XXI, 619). The first part is composed of an evaluation of San Martín by contemporaries and more recent critics. Other characters are considered, including that "curious personage" Lord Cochrane.

Pages 41-150 contain documentary evidence of Peru's jurisdiction for three centuries over the province of Mainas which extends to the Napo River, east of Quito. The volume concludes with two long chapters on the Congress of 1822 and the provisional government which followed.

JOHN RYDJORD.

University of Wichita.

*La Revolución del 90.* By LEANDRO N. ALEM and others. Prologue by SAVERIO S. VALENTI. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, S.A. Pp. 199. \$2 m/n.)

This is a collection of papers and speeches by leaders of the Unión Cívica concerning the activities of the party in the revolution of 1890. It is published in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of that revolution. The first two chapters discuss the origin, organization, and development of the Unión Cívica. These chapters are the work of

Francisco A. Barroetaveña. In Chapter III are reproduced the speeches made by Mitre, Barroetaveña, Alem, Valle, Estrada, and Goyena at the meeting of April 13th. These leaders give voice to the popular indignation and opposition to the policy and government of General Roca and his satellite, President Celman. The fourth chapter includes the manifesto of the revolutionary junta and the bases of the capitulation in July. There is also reprinted in this chapter a summary of the revolution and its development written by Leandro N. Alem. The last chapter is written by the author of the prologue. He explains in this chapter the dissolution of the Unión Cívica and the appearance of the Unión Cívica Radical.

WILLIAM M. GIBSON.

Duke University.

*Clave Histórica de Mérida.* By TULIO FEBRES CORDERO. (Mérida: Tipografía "El Lápiz," 1941. Pp. 247.)

This is a posthumous work of the great historian of Mérida, whom Mariano Picón-Salas called "a living archive of the province." And, it might be added, Febres Cordero possessed in his library in Mérida a rich literary archive, unique among collections on local history. When he died two years ago, "Venezuela honored him more than as a writer: as an ancient patriarch, as the interpreter of a vanished age." The book is a compilation of facts, historical, political, economic, and social, covering the history of the province from the foundation of the city to the present. In an appendix, the author added some data omitted in the first writing; and the editor, José R. Febres Cordero, son of the author, has included other information, bringing the compendium up to date.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.

*Anales del Instituto de Etnografía Americana.* Edited by SALVADOR CANALS FRAU. (Mendoza: Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1941. Tomo II. Pp. 386.)

Much of interest is found in this attractively printed serial publication which began circulation in 1940. Each issue contains a collection of articles on South American ethnology, and characteristics and movements of indigenous peoples, which should prove useful to those working on problems of the periods of discovery and colonization. The present volume contains articles on the Onas of Isla Grande of Tierra del Fuego by A. Oyarzun; the language of the

Huarpes Indians of San Juan, by S. Canals Frau; myths and stories of the Pilagá by A. Métraux; the aborigines of the Pampa in the colonial epoch with a distribution map, by S. Canals Frau. There are also a section of notes and news on current discoveries and an extensive department of reviews of ethnological literature.

JOHN GILLIN.

Duke University.

*Antropología y sociología de las razas interandinas y de las regiones adyacentes.* Segunda edición. By ARTHUR POSNANSKY. La Paz, Bolivia: Editorial Renacimiento, 1938. Pp. 150, láminas 155. \$ 0/s 5.)

This is a collection of essays based upon personal investigations in the prehistory, ethnology, and physical anthropology of Bolivia made by the author during a period of thirty years. The bulk of the work deals with the problem of the Uru Indians and their origin. This is an important problem, for the Uru represent apparently a pre-Incan, pre-Tiahuanacan population of the highlands. Although Posnansky's material should be examined by anyone working in this area, many of his interpretations, particularly the more sensational, must be held in suspense until more confirmatory evidence is forthcoming. His identification of the Uru differs markedly, for example, from that of Métraux (*Jour. Soc. Amér. de Paris*, 1936).

JOHN GILLIN.

Duke University.

*Archaeology of the North Coast of Honduras.* By DORIS STONE. [Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. IX, No. 1.] (Cambridge, 1941. Pp. vi, 103. \$2.50.)

The determination of the limits of the southern extension of the Maya and the identification of the adjacent pre-discovery cultures in Honduras have long been among the unfinished problems of Central American archaeology. It is to an investigation of these matters along the Honduran north coast that this book is addressed. Although evidence of considerable prehistoric cultural and linguistic variety is found in this region, the present report supports the view that the western part of the coast (west of Caxinas Point) was predominantly Mayoid, whereas the coastal region to the east was predominantly Paya. In the interior, it would seem that the Ulúa River formed the eastern boundary of strong Maya influence. In the



eastern area certain outside influences are found in the Paya; for example, Güetar elements from the Costa Rican highlands, and the remains of two Mexican (Nahua) settlements on the coast near the present city of Trujillo.

The report represents a survey of early Spanish historical sources, the interpretation and collation of previous archaeological work in the region, and a detailed report on excavations by the author in the Black River region (Peroles Calientes), the Aguán valley, and the Sula-Ulúa plain. Excellent illustrations add much to the value of the work. In summary, the report should appeal to historians interested in sixteenth-century Honduras, as well as to the archaeologist.

JOHN GILLIN.

Duke University.

*Reflexiones sobre la ley de 10 de Abril de 1834 y otras obras.* By FERMÍN TORO. (Caracas: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección de Cultura, 1941. Pp. 306. Bs. 3.)

*Resumen de la geografía de Venezuela.* By AGUSTÍN CODAZZI. (Caracas: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección de Cultura, 1940. 3 vols., pp. 303, 148, 382. Bs. 5.)

*Antología del cuento moderno venezolano.* By ARTURO USLAR PIETRI and JULIÁN PADRÓN. (Caracas: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección de Cultura, 1941. Pp. 352, 204. 2 vols. Bs. 5.)

*Antología de costumbristas venezolanos del siglo XIX.* By MARIANO PICÓN-SALAS. (Caracas: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección de Cultura, 1941. Pp. 349. Bs. 2.50.)

These volumes are new editions of famous works in Venezuelan science, literature and political philosophy issued by the Dirección de Cultura. The volumes comprise the Biblioteca Venezolana de Cultura. The primary object of the publication is to put these works of great Venezuelans into the hands of the youth of the country as a part of the program of national education and integration. Since some of these books are very rare and it is difficult or impossible to secure them in original editions, these volumes, issued at three bolivares or less, perform a very useful service. The first volume is by Fermín Toro who, as an intellectual figure, belongs in a class with Baralt, Cagigal, and Acosta. Throughout his life (1807-1865) he was a public figure as minister, diplomat, legislator, and professor, and was also a great scholar and writer. His reflections on the law of April 10, 1834, the famous law of liberty of contracts, is a notable

contribution to the economic and social history of the country. This is the first volume in the Colección "Clásicos Venezolanos." The three volumes, *Resumen de la geografía de Venezuela*, are by Agustín Codazzi, an Italian by birth, who gave the greater part of his life (1793-1859) to Venezuela as a soldier, engineer, geographer, colonizer, and political administrator. The first edition of this work appeared in 1841. It here appears as a part of the Colección "Viajes y Naturaleza." In the Colección "Antologías" there has been published an *Antología del cuento moderno venezolano* in two volumes. This contains selections made by Arturo Usler Pietri, now Minister of Education, and Julián Padrón, both outstanding literary figures in Venezuela today.

The last of the volumes noted above contains selections made by Mariano Picón-Salas, another prominent present-day writer on history and literature. This latter *Antología* is rich in social history, containing selections from Cagigal, Toro, Baralt, Luis Correa, Daniel Mendoza, Bolet Peraza, Tosta García, Sales Pérez, Febres Cordero, Picón Febres, Pedro Emilio Coll, and others.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.

*Artículos de costumbres.* By JOSÉ VICTORIANO BETANCOURT. [No. 2 of the fifth series of *Cuadernos de cultura*.] (Habana: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura, 1941. Pp. 227. Paper.)

Ninety-five years ago Cirilio Villaverde, a Cuban novelist, was lamenting the fact that the spicy articles of types and manners by José Victoriano Betancourt (1813-1875) had never been collected from the various newspapers and magazines in which they were appearing between 1829 and 1885. This pleasant task has just been accomplished in part by the Cuban Ministry of Education in one of the splendid pamphlets that are published periodically.

This volume contains eighteen of Betancourt's articles, including his best, "Los curros del manglar," a vivid picture of the half-savage free Negroes of the epoch of slavery who reigned supreme in their own settlement in the mangrove swamps on the shores of Havana Bay. The author wages good-natured warfare on noxious types—never on individuals. Literary kinship with Larra is not strengthened by any trace of bitterness. His colorful vocabulary is enhanced by the use of many *cubanisms*. Nowhere does his wit show itself to better advantage than in "La solterona" ("The Old Maid"), yet he gives no occasion for offense, even to the most sensitive.

The loftiness of Señor Betancourt's ideals and the elevation of standards that he coveted for his countrymen impress the reader with a profound respect for the author's purpose.

ROBERTA DAY CORBITT.

Candler College.

*Actas capitulares del ayuntamiento de la Habana, 1550-1574.* [Colección de documentos para la historia de Cuba. Tomos I y II.] Edited by EMILIO ROIG DE LEUCHSENRING. (Habana: Municipio de la Habana, Tomo I in 2 vols., 1937; tomo II, 1939. I, xv, 259; xix, 301. II, xviii, 340. Plates. Paper.)

*Historia de la Habana*, Vol. I. By EMILIO ROIG DE LEUCHSENRING. (Habana: Municipio de la Habana, 1939. Pp. xii, 221. 14 photographs.)

The island of Cuba was a key point in the military and economic structure of the Spanish empire; to the rest of the world, and to some extent to Spain herself, Habana was Cuba; to officialdom in general, the municipal council was Habana. This body was long vested with important executive, legislative, and judicial powers over much of the island. There the captains general took the oath of office, registered bonds to guarantee fulfillment of their duties, and submitted to investigations of their administrations when their terms were ended. There, too, were registered the appointments of other functionaries, and professional titles, as well as many of the decrees and regulations emanating from the king and the insular authorities. Furthermore, the council was for a long time the land office from which were issued deeds to most of western Cuba. Therefore, anything that makes for more exact knowledge of the workings of the city council of Habana will also contribute to the better understanding of the history of the colony and of the Spanish empire. Of such is the *Actas capitulares del ayuntamiento de la Habana*, the *Historia de la Habana*, and *La Habana, apuntes históricos* (reviewed in H. A. H. R., Vol. 21, p. 654) by the city's official historian, Dr. Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring.

There are two sets of *actas* in the municipal archive: the original, containing the minutes of the council from 1550 to the present (earlier records were destroyed by pirates), and a duplicate of those from 1550 to 1793, made so that land titles and other legal information would be available in modern script. The duplicate set was begun in 1794, but financial and political interruptions delayed the work a full century.

Plans for publishing these minutes were made in 1927, and two



years later there was printed a small volume entitled *La dominación inglesa en la Habana. Libro de cabildos, 1762-1763*, containing the minutes of the council for the period indicated, and other related documents. This volume was intended to arouse interest in the publication of the rest of the *actas*, but the work was interrupted and nothing more appeared until 1937 when *tomo I*, consisting of two volumes, was brought out. A second one appeared in 1939 and a third is in press.

Volume two of *tomo I* contains the minutes of the council for the years 1550 to 1565. The first volume is prefaced by a foreword and an *estudio preliminar* by Dr. Roig. The former is a history of the documents themselves; the latter is a well-documented history of the period, reprinted since as the first volume of an *Historia de la Habana* in preparation by the author. The second *tomo* of the *Actas capitulares* covers the years 1565 to 1574. The third will contain the minutes for 1574-1577 and a study of the *Escribanos del cabildo de la Habana en el siglo XVI* by Dr. Jenaro Artiles, formerly municipal librarian in Madrid, now collaborating with Dr. Roig in the publication of the *Actas*.

Dr. Roig's original plan called for an *estudio preliminar* for each *tomo*, which would be an authoritative history of the period covered, but this was found impracticable because of the brevity of some of the periods to be treated. He now considers continuing the *Historia* as a separate work.

The volumes of the minutes that have been published were taken from the duplicate set. Copious footnotes make comparisons with the original in the second *tomo*, and a few annotations appear in the first. No attempt to identify persons or events has been made in either. This deficiency is supplied in part by the *estudio preliminar*. The *tomo* now in press has been taken from the original minutes while the editorial notes make comparisons with the duplicate set. These volumes are a welcome contribution to Cuban historiography.

DUVON C. CORBITT.

Candler College.

*Introducción a la práctica bibliotecaria en los Estados Unidos.* By MARION S. CARNOVSKY. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1941. Pp. vi, 146.)

It is shown in the introduction to this book that foreigners who come to the United States marvel upon visiting the public libraries, believing that enormous sums have been spent in them. This is

erroneous, up to a certain point, because they are the fruit of good organization.

The American Library Association is the oldest group of specialists in library science and its history summarizes the progress which has been realized in American libraries. Mrs. Carnovsky outlines the work so happily realized by the public library and speaks of the debt owed to those who care for books which are the delight of scholars.

Very different is the fortune of libraries in the Hispanic-American countries. It is necessary to educate various governments and also the impious readers who mutilate books and periodicals. To relate that which has happened to many libraries and archives in those countries would be to paint negligence, disdain, and lack of political vision. Libraries installed in buildings lacking light, comfort and heat; employees with pitiful salaries; in some of these libraries the lack of a catalogue and the methodical pilfering and at times the naming of politicians who are not librarians to direct these institutions explains the urgency with which they should be organized. This book will serve as a stimulus and give most useful counsel in the moment of attacking this task. Mexico, Peru, and Colombia begin to give importance to the library and to the librarian. In Argentina, Cuba and Uruguay and Costa Rica the book is treated with more respect.

The teachings and suggestions made by Mrs. Carnovsky should be adapted to the conditions of our countries. The translation of her book into Spanish places it in the position to do much good in Spanish America.

RAFAEL H. VALLE.

Mexico, D.F.

*List of Latin-American Serials. A Survey of Exchanges Available in U. S. Libraries.* [Studies of the A. L. A. Committee on Library Coöperation with Latin America. Number I.] (Chicago: American Library Association, 1941. Pp. 70.)

This pamphlet is important because it gives the names of the reviews which appear in Latin America as well as an indication of the library in the United States where they can be consulted. In the American countries where "hemerotecas" have been installed the stimulus will be evident.

In general, the reviews very often contain articles of high quality which, unless well catalogued, will pass unperceived by the reader who does not receive them. Laudable, then, is the labor which has

been done in this publication. In the preface it is pointed out that the list does not pretend to be complete, nevertheless it is certain that material of first importance is presented.

Perhaps it would be better if the name of the review and not that of the publisher were put first in order to facilitate use. For example, if we look among the publications of Peru for the *Revista de Seguros* it is necessary to read the whole list before we discover that it appears under "Editorial Lumen," and this concern could very well print a book on cooking or one on religious songs. The list will soon require a new edition on account of the rapidity with which some of the publications noticed cease to appear.

RAFAEL H. VALLE.

Mexico, D.F.

*The Music of Spain.* By GILBERT CHASE. (New York: W. W. Norton & Son, 1941. Pp. 307. \$4.00.)

One of the most outstanding books on music which has appeared in recent years is *The Music of Spain* by Gilbert Chase. The book fills a definite need in the survey material available on Spanish music since, as the author points out in his foreword, "It is the first book in any language attempting to give a concise yet comprehensive account of Iberian music in all its aspects." The relatively short length of the book necessarily limits the amount of detail which can be incorporated but it does not limit its inclusiveness. The subject matter is presented in a straightforward, authoritative style and the sizeable bibliography (thirty pages) as well as the adequate, although not complete, record list (eighteen pages) attest to the serious intent of the author.

Of special interest to readers of this particular review is the chapter on "Hispanic music in the Americas." Due to the scarcity of books which touch upon the musical history of Central and South America, the statement that "the first American printed book containing music was . . . issued at Mexico City in 1556" will perhaps come to many as a surprise. Its explanation is clear, however, when one remembers that both Mexico City and Lima were centers of Spanish culture in the early colonial period and as such would perforce duplicate the musical art of the mother-country. It might be expected, therefore, that most modern Spanish-American music could logically be traced in part, at least, to Iberian ancestry and this is exactly what students of Latin-American folk song and folk lore, especially, are discovering. Mr. Chase has assimilated the most recent



researches in his field and has succinctly brought us the result of his studies. We have here a book that is well worth reading.

HELEN E. BUSH.

Library of Congress.

*Grandeza mexicana y fragmentos del "siglo de oro" y "el Bernardo."*

By BERNARDO DE BALBUENA. Edición y prólogo de Francisco Monterde. [Biblioteca del estudiante universitario, no. 23.] (Mexico, D.F.: Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1941. Pp. 205. Paper, \$2.50.)

This admirable addition to an excellent series of Mexican classics provides the most accessible and readable text of the *Grandeza Mexicana*. Large, clear print and modernized orthography prevail. Professor Monterde's introduction gives an excellent brief biography and criticism of Balbuena. Historians are especially interested in the importance of the *Grandeza* as a document of the times. While admitting inevitable and poetically justifiable exaggeration of Mexico's splendor in 1604, Señor Monterde believes (p. xxiv) that its social life and community manifestations probably did not differ much from those of Seville, "except the inevitable backwardness in feminine and literary styles." The fragments from the *Siglo de oro* and the *Bernardo* include particularly the passages dealing with Mexico.

JOHN VAN HORNE.

University of Illinois.

*Mexico's School-Made Society.* By GEORGE C. BOOTH. (Stanford University Press, 1941. Pp. x, 175. \$2.50.)

The jacket blurb of this volume announces that "Mexico, land of revolution by force, has turned in recent years into a land of revolution by education." This comforting theme is developed with considerable skill and much enthusiasm by Mr. Booth. He tells us of the underlying socialist philosophy of the Mexican state, of the socialist ideals which dominate the schools, of the practical measures undertaken to give substance to the dream. He portrays with accuracy the many hopeful steps taken to relate the life of the school to the community; the programs of health, recreation, the arts. He dwells upon the devotion of many of the teachers who work valiantly with meager equipment in villages far from beaten roads. He depicts the obstacles which lie in the way; the prevailing illiteracy, the hostility of churchmen, the laggard economy which keeps so many in misery. But he sees the Mexican school moving on with gathering strength.

To all of which any devoted friend of Mexico can only add, I hope Mr. Booth is right. I have seen the Mexican school in the making ever since 1924. There were great days for Mexican education during the decade when Calles ruled. No matter what may be said against that caudillo, he always saw to it that education was protected. Moisés Sáenz was the dominating figure in education throughout that period, furnishing intellectual power, moral insight, and a great enthusiasm. Since Cárdenas came to power in 1934, the Mexican school has steadily lost. "Socialist education" always had a good deal of fakery in it. A lot of Stalinist comrades, home-grown and imported, let loose an avalanche of words but the substance was not there. Many of the ablest educators of Mexico were no longer used, and their places were filled by a curious collection of politicians and peculiarly ineffective men. The morale of the teachers steadily declined. At the moment, under Ávila Camacho, education is in the hands of men who beat a precipitate retreat from all socialist ideas. Despite much that looks like reaction—for example, the move away from co-education—the present mood is probably more realistic than the socialist picnicking under Cárdenas. We may not like it, but it is at least more consonant with the Mexican genius.

My reaction to Mr. Booth's book is—I don't know; I hope he is right. We will have to wait and see.

HUBERT HERRING.

Committee on Cultural Relations  
with Latin America, Inc.

*Spanish Colonial Furniture.* By ARTHUR DURWARD WILLIAMS. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1941. Pp. vii, 136. \$3.00.)

This is primarily a handbook for craftsmen and students. In addition to drawings and specifications, it contains practical instructions for construction, carving, and finishing. The designs are adapted or copied from colonial furniture as developed in the territory now embracing Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. While the original models were Spanish, the designs show a marked influence of Navajo and Pueblo craftsmen. The rosette and feather motifs, for instance, are distinctly Indian in origin. This furniture is thus to be distinguished from the clumsy so-called "mission style" offered to the American public some fifty years ago.

JOSEPH R. BAXTER.

Duke University.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### THE FIFTH CONVENTION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

Archival needs in Latin America, Latin-American bibliographical problems, and Inter-American library activities were the principal subjects discussed at the Fifth Convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association held in Washington, D. C., February 20-21, 1942.

Dr. Roscoe R. Hill presented a general review of archival conditions in Latin-American countries and of the literature (descriptions, guides, etc.) relating to the archives and libraries of Latin America. In some cases the buildings were nondescript and woefully inadequate, as was recently the case in the United States; in others, fairly good buildings, working tools and expert help were to be found.

Several speakers commented in varying detail to the same effect. Professor Arthur P. Whitaker mentioned particularly the lack of heating and microfilming facilities, the latter being so serious as to make it advisable for the searcher to carry with him his own micro-filming equipment and supplies.

Dr. B. W. Diffie observed that there was a great abundance of historical material in the public archives of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Baía, Mariana, and Rio Grande do Sul but that physical deterioration caused by lack of protection against excessive heat and moisture from Rio northward was steadily reducing it. He suggested the cultivation of a greater American interest in Brazilian history. Scholars trained in the Portuguese language, in Brazilian historical bibliography and in such techniques as manuscript repair and microphotography could do much useful work in Brazil.

Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis held that the first and most important step to be taken with reference to the archives of Latin America and to materials in the United States on the history of Latin America was the preparation of comprehensive guides like those of the Carnegie Institution of Washington on materials on American history in the various European archives. Those Carnegie *Guides* have been exceedingly useful. Therefore, he suggested that the Association make representations with a view to inspiring some foun-



dation or organization respected in all the Americas to support financially or to undertake the making of such *Guides*. Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda urged particularly that the work in archives and libraries of the United States be done by scholars of the various Latin-American states concerned. Some of those states might publish their own guides as official documents.

## II

Dr. Miron Burgin opened the discussion of bibliographical problems by declaring that the bibliographer "is no longer a mere recorder of publications; he becomes a consultant and an assistant." Yet "the bibliographical stampede of the past few years has resulted in a considerable duplication of effort and waste of energy" and "rugged individualism reigns supreme in the bibliographical field." Consequently, there is needed "coördination in our global bibliographical effort." Coördination would bring about planning and leadership of effort, agreement on form, selection, and annotation instead of plain listing of materials and a rise in the quality of personnel engaged in bibliographical work. The first step might be the creation of a board or council of bibliographers of recognized standing. Also, there is need of "bibliographical guides for mass consumption." The average general reader now has little effective guidance. The preparation of guides for such readers is highly important and deserves the best the profession can give in planning and execution.

Dr. C. K. Jones mentioned, by way of suggestion, that he had recently found in current periodicals and in pamphlets several excellent bibliographies on such special subjects as Indian medicine and Argentine stamps. Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda reported the existence of a great collection of newspapers and magazines in the García Library of the University of Texas, an indispensable bibliographical source, but this and the Gondra Collection in the same Library are, unfortunately, still in storage, uncatalogued and unavailable for use. Mr. Max Putzel of the Office of Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs asked those who could to point out lacunae in translated United States literature in Latin America on specialized subjects; as, engineering and medicine. Greetings were presented in Spanish by Sr. Jorge Aguayo of the Biblioteca Municipal, Habana, Cuba.

A paper by Professor Ernest R. Moore, "Mexican Bibliographies: Progress and Problems," read at the end of the section meeting, was designed to be a guide to the "obstructions" still existing in the paths of scholars and to the ways and means of removing them. He presented a survey and concluded that "what is sorely needed is a chron-

ological compilation of Mexican imprints beginning with the year 1822 and coming down to the present year." The need is urgent, "for the traditional enemies of Mexican books—*polilla*, *patones*, *coheteros y descuido*—are still at work. In fact many early nineteenth-century publications are as rare as incunabula: the first edition of Beristain's *Biblioteca*, for example, is harder to find than a sixteenth-century *Arte* by Molina." A letter by Professor E. Herman Hespelt to Professor Moore, dated February 15, 1942, emphasized the need for quicker bibliographical and distribution service on the "immediate success" books of Latin America.

### III

On the general subject of Inter-American library activities Miss Elinor Dunnigan declared that there was a serious lack of good books in English on Latin America. "The most desired material in the past ten years has been that on economic and social topics, relations, and current politics," but of two hundred recent books only twenty-four dealt with such topics. Impressionistic "story" books were often misleading; and the use of such flimsy material in radio programs might easily produce disastrous results. Good English translations of "Class A" Latin-American novels should be used to offset the "Class Z" novels in English about Latin America. "The stories written for children, both in form and in 'facts and figures,' are much more to be praised than those for adults." Books and monographs in small or pamphlet form were in many cases the best and most useful.

Professor Sturgis E. Leavitt described as a successful example of Library coöperation the team work of the librarians of Duke University and the University of North Carolina. A standing committee representing the two universities had taken charge of the coöperative arrangement and had organized the details in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. Author catalogues had been exchanged and exchanges of cards for new acquisitions keep these catalogues up to date. A daily delivery service between the two libraries provides ready access to books and magazines of every sort. "South America" and "Cuba" were the two fields of specialization; Tulane University Library had become a third member of the team and was carrying on with "Mexico, Central America, and the Antilles." Several important collections had been purchased collectively and the books distributed according to the geographical division. In the case of the Lenz Collection recently secured in Chile, the Library of Congress "was given an opportunity to select the items it needed before the three academic institutions had their share of the material."

Mr. Manuel Sanchez, Fellow of the Library of Congress in Technology, revealed the high importance of Latin-American technical literature, which had been too much ignored or neglected by American librarians. In a few instances some of the more zealous engineers had written to South America to purchase the necessary items for themselves, but the long delay and the expenses entailed, not to mention the inconvenience, could be and should be prevented by proper library service. In Latin-American countries there are many "works on well established principles of engineering written from the point of view of the native engineers who are confronted with local conditions." Some American publishing houses are now issuing technical works in Spanish and Portuguese, most of them translations of American works; but they should publish also English translations of the works of Latin Americans. To the latter end American librarians should without delay prepare bibliographies of Latin-American technical works. The Library of Congress is now building up a "strong, complete collection of technical literature originating in South America."

## IV

At the final luncheon conference, the Secretary read Professor Robert E. McNicoll's paper, "Libraries and Archives in Cuba," an extensive and interesting survey showing the situation and needs of the archives and libraries, particularly in Habana.

Professor Robert F. McNerney, Jr., presented "The Problem of Selection in Bibliographies of Spanish American Literature," and its solution in the case of Frederick B. Luquien's *Bibliography of Spanish American Literature*. "By literature we meant writings which have a claim to consideration on the ground of beauty of form or emotional effect." Works on history offered great difficulty!

## V

Among the resolutions adopted by the Association were the following:

That greetings be extended to the director of the Municipal Library of São Paulo, Brazil, upon the inauguration of its new building.

That greetings be extended to the Ministry of Education of Panama upon the recent establishment of a national library, and that greeting further be extended to Sr. Ernesto J. Castellero, first director of this new institution.

That the far-sighted action of the Government of Haiti in publishing the two-volume general bibliography of that country by Duvivier be warmly commended.

That the contribution to the bibliography for the Peruvian periodical press printed by the Ministry of Government of Peru on the occasion of its national exhibit be warmly commended.



That the twenty years work on a bibliography of Central America by Rafael Heliodoro Valle, now ready for publication, be commended and its publication be urged in every possible way.

That the contribution of the National Library of Ecuador to the bibliography of the Ecuadorian periodical press on the occasion of an exhibit be warmly commended.

That greetings be extended to the recently established Venezuelan Society of Bibliophiles.

That the forthcoming publication by the Library of Congress of Bibliography of Latin-American bibliography by C. K. Jones be commended and that the Librarian of Congress be asked to consider ways and means for the publication of a complementary Guide to Latin-American reference works.

That this Association recommend to the Committee of Latin-American Studies that suitable measures be taken to further the preparation of a *Guide to materials for the history of the United States in Latin-American Archives and Libraries*, and a *Guide to materials for Latin-American history in United States Libraries and Archives*, by:

- (a) Securing appropriate financial assistance.
- (b) Placing the subject on the agenda of the next meeting of the appropriate congresses or conferences.

That an Inter-American Conference on bibliographic and library problems would be desirable whenever possible and that this matter be brought to the attention of the Division of Cultural Relations of the United States Department of State.

T. P. MARTIN.

## CONFERENCE ON HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Luncheon Conference on Latin-American History was held as a session of the American Historical Association at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, on December 29, 1941. In the absence of Professor I. J. Cox the President of the conference, Dr. J. V. Jacobsen of Loyola University, acted as chairman. In introducing the guest speaker, Dr. Jacobsen referred to the service rendered to the cause of "greater neighborliness" and intellectual coöperation between Anglo-Saxon and Latin America by Mr. Charles Thomson of the Division of Cultural Relations in bringing about the visit to the United States of Professor Jorge Basadre of the University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru, who is at present attached to the faculty of Swarthmore College.

In his address, Dr. Basadre spoke with appreciation of the persistence shown by American historians in searching for real knowledge of the countries that lie to the south of the United States, but stressed the need for a still more effective approach to the contribution that Latin America had made to the history of the western world. It was

the work of historians, he said, to build a bridge across the chasms that separate North and South America. Referring to differences in language, religion, social psychology, economic life, and geography that exist in the Americas, Dr. Basadre stressed the more encouraging views that may be taken of them. He pointed out that cultural life in Latin America has always been bilingual and that today the number of Latin Americans studying English is increasing and that in general the barrier offered by language was of less account than in earlier times. In religion, all Christians, he said, faced the three menaces presented by the Nazi state, the Marxist state, and cynicism. The differences in social psychology can well, he thought, make relations between the two Americas more interesting, and the economic divergences work in the direction of profitable trade exchanges. The colonial period should not be studied, he believed, as a chapter of the colonial history of Spain and Portugal, but as the historical experience between 1492 and the independence era of the people of the Hispanic-American States. He stressed the importance of the fact that the republicans of the independence era had succeeded in preventing the establishment of monarchies throughout the Spanish-American area. He also dwelt at some length on the mixed racial characteristics of the Spanish-American peoples of today. In concluding, Dr. Basadre said that he did not ask American historians to put silk gloves on their hands in dealing with Spanish America, but urged understanding as being more important than knowledge.

At the business meeting which followed the luncheon a nominating committee consisting of Professors L. Hill, Butler, and Aiton brought in the slate of officers for the coming year which was unanimously accepted.

President: Professor A. P. Whitaker.

Secretary: Professor V. B. Holmes.

Members to serve with the President, retiring President, and Secretary as a General Committee: Dr. W. Eugene Shiels and Dr. Lewis Hanke.

V. B. HOLMES.

VÉLEZ DE ESCALANTE'S AUTHORSHIP OF THE  
SO-CALLED "ANONYMOUS" MANUSCRIPT IN  
A.G.N., *HISTORIA*, TOMO 2

When H. H. Bancroft wrote his *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), he made good use of two secondary late-eighteenth-century manuscripts which he describes as follows (p. 20):

Fortunately, a formal search of the Sta Fé archives for historical purposes was made in the 18th century, while the records were still comparatively intact. This search, made in part by Padre Escalante in 1778, and completed by him or some other Franciscan in the following years, covered the period from 1681 to 1717; the result . . . was sent to Mexico and Spain, and it is still extant, though I believe I am the first in modern times to consult it. It is cited by me under the titles: 1st, *Escalante, Carta del P. Fr. Silvestre Velez de Escalante, Escrita en 2 de Abril de 1778 años* (Sta Fé), fol., p. 113-126. The author had, it seems, been requested by his superior, P. Juan A. Morfi, to search the N. Mex. archives. This letter contains an epitome of such information as he had found from 1680 to 1692. . . . He hopes to complete the search in a month or two; therefore, he was probably the author of the following: 2d, *Archivo de Nuevo Mexico*, fol., p. 127-208, which is a continuation of the preceding, covering the period of 1692-1717. . . . These invaluable records are found in MS., in the *Archivo General de Mexico*, tomo ii-iii, the Andrade-Maximilian copies of which are in my Library; and they were also printed, 1856, in the *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d series, pt. iv. p. 113-208.

The Escalante *Carta*, dated Santa Fé, April 2, 1778, is well-known and has been published a number of times. As filed in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación (A.G.N.), Mexico City, in the well-known *Historia* series, tomo 2, the *Carta* precedes the longer so-called "anonymous" document. (For a description of the *Historia* series see Herbert E. Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, Washington, D. C., 1913, pp. 20-21.) The much longer "anonymous" document bears the notation: "Este quaderno se cree ser obra de un Religioso de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio," or "This note-book is believed to be the work of a religious of the province of the Holy Gospel." But hitherto no one has attached any importance to the fact that this document begins very abruptly in the middle of an account of the first phase of the reconquest of New Mexico by Governor Vargas, for which reason the document is given the misleading sub-title "Restauración del Nuevo México por Don Diego de Vargas Zapata" in the table of contents of A.G.N., *Historia*, tomo 2. This abrupt beginning of the document is due to the fact that it is incomplete, since the first part is



missing. The editors of the published *Documentos para la historia de México*, and Bancroft, cited above, as well as Bolton, Leonard, Bloom, and others, all familiar only with the incomplete copy of the manuscript in *Historia*, tomo 2, for lack of evidence to the contrary, have continued the tradition that it is anonymous. (See Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Irving A. Leonard, *The Mercurio Volante of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora*, Los Angeles, 1932, p. 31; L. B. Bloom, *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIV (1939), 375, note 22, and p. 386.)

The discovery of a complete copy of this so-called "anonymous" manuscript, including the hitherto missing first part, in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City, convincingly establishes Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante as its author. Furthermore, there is evidence to believe that the incomplete copy in A.G.N., *Historia*, tomo 2, was copied from the Biblioteca Nacional manuscript. This complete copy of the manuscript is found in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City, legajo 3, documents 1 and 1A, and a photostatic copy, obtained under the direction of France V. Scholes, "discoverer" of the document, may be found in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. The Biblioteca Nacional manuscript is accompanied by a copy of the Escalante *Carta* (ff. 3-10), mentioned above. Escalante's *Carta*, it should be pointed out here, contains the following statements:

I have not been able either to read or make extracts from the manuscripts of this government archive except from the year 1680 (there are no older papers here), in which year this kingdom was lost, to the year 1692, in which Don Diego de Vargas, began the winning back of it. I hope to disengage myself, and in the coming May and June to finish examining the documents which remain . . . herewith goes this epitome of the information gathered from the papers of Don Antonio de Otermín; of Don Domingo Gironza Petriz de Cruzate . . . of Don Pedro Romero [*sic*] Posada . . . and of Don Diego de Vargas.

As may be noted, Escalante refers to his *Carta* as an "epitome" of the information gathered thus far; that is, as of April 2, 1778, the date of the *Carta*. The larger body of information gathered, of which the *Carta* is an "epitome," undoubtedly refers to the hitherto unknown first part of the longer Escalante manuscript.

As filed in the Biblioteca Nacional, the *Carta* is immediately followed by a one-page seventeenth-century document. Then follows an otherwise blank page containing the following caption: "Extracto de Noticias." This page is immediately followed by the first page of the manuscript proper, which has the following title, the true title of the entire document:

Noticias de lo acaecido en la Custodia de la Conversion de San Pablo de la Provincia de el Santo Evangelio de N. S. P. S. Francisco en el Nuevo Méjico,

sacadas de los papeles que se guardan en el Archivo de Gobierno de la Villa de Santa Fé, y empiezan desde el año de 1679.<sup>1</sup>

This title, compared with the date, place, and contents of Escalante's *Carta*, especially that portion quoted above, definitely links the so-called "anonymous" document with the *Carta*. Escalante's authorship of both is further definitely established, to my mind, by internal evidence, and of course by the fact that the "anonymous" document published in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, and the second half of the Biblioteca Nacional manuscript are identical, word for word.

The so-called "anonymous" document, which we may now refer to as Escalante's "Noticias," begins with a brief account of the history of New Mexico prior to 1679, based on Torquemada and others (ff. 11-13v). This is followed by Escalante's detailed survey of the Santa Fe Archive, accompanied by an interesting sketch map of northeastern New Mexico. First (legajo 3, document 1, ff. 14-53v, and document 1A, f. 15), there is a detailed survey of the period from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 to the middle of Vargas' entrada of 1692. This is the generally unknown first part of Escalante's manuscript. It contains detailed extracts and excerpts of documents from the provincial government archive at El Paso for the period 1680-1693, which was removed to Santa Fe when the capital of the province was reestablished there in Governor Vargas' administration, including hitherto-unknown details concerning New Mexico immediately following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and a copying of the provincial archive copy of the diary of the well-known Mendoza-López expedition to the Jumanos in 1683-1684. The original copies of most of these particular records have since been lost.

Document 1A, ff. 1-14v, consists of some extraneous matter, and then the Escalante manuscript continues from f. 15v through f. 64, thus completing the survey, the so-called "anonymous" manuscript in *Historia*, tomo 2, being an exact copy of this latter part of the Biblioteca Nacional manuscript. It is precisely at the exact break where the Biblioteca Nacional manuscript continues again, in document 1A, f. 15v, following ff. 1-14v (which consist of the extraneous matter), that the incomplete copy of the same in A.G.N., *Historia*, tomo 2, and printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, cited above, begins. This would perhaps explain why the copyist who penned the Archivo General copy accidentally missed the first part of the Biblioteca Na-

<sup>1</sup> The translation is as follows: Information concerning that which took place in the Custodia of the conversion of Saint Paul, of the province of the Holy Gospel of our holy father Saint Francis, in New Mexico, based on the papers preserved in the government archive of the villa of Santa Fe, dating from the year 1679.

cional manuscript; for, to repeat, it is enclosed within some entirely extraneous documents, and could easily have been paged through rapidly under the impression that it was simply a part of the extraneous matter, and thereby completely overlooked.

At any rate, we now have what appears to be conclusive proof that Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante was the author of this important and oft-quoted hitherto "anonymous" manuscript.

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### LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

As a result of one of the sessions held during the December meeting of the American Political Science Association at New York, it was decided to organize a "Latin American Conference of the American Political Science Association." Russell H. Fitzgibbon was chosen as chairman for 1942. The conference will give particular attention to the fields of government, politics, international relations, and law.

### INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS

National commissions of the Inter-American Development Commission have been established in Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. This brings to a successful conclusion the organization of twenty national commissions which are actively coöperating with the Inter-American Development Commission, which in turn was organized by the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee.

### ROOSEVELT FELLOWSHIPS

Ten United States students soon will be selected for one-year scholarships in colleges of Hispanic America, under the Roosevelt Fellowships program. The project, sponsored and financed by the Office of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs, provides for an annual exchange of students, ten going from the United States to the other American republics and twenty coming to the United States—one from each Latin-American country. The Institute of International Education in New York administers the fellowships.

In addition to the thirty full scholarships, which range from \$1,200 to \$1,800, depending upon the distance of travel, forty-one maintenance grants have been allotted for students from Latin America.



These range from \$300 to \$500. Students from Hispanic America must have been graduated from a *liceo* or a more advanced course. United States candidates must have bachelors' degrees. Also, they must be able to read and write the language of the country to which they are to go. The fellows have full freedom of choice of the courses which they intend to take and, subject to the veto of the Institute, of the place where they will study. They will live in college dormitories, and are expected to take part in extracurricular activities.

### FORENSIC CONTEST ON INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

The Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs has invited approximately seven hundred colleges and universities in the United States to participate in a nation-wide discussion contest on inter-American affairs. The contest will be conducted under the management of National Public Discussions Committee, Inc., of which Alan Nichols is director. Dr. Nichols has for twenty years been director of inter-collegiate forensics at the University of Southern California. The most outstanding student speakers will be selected as delegates to the National Intercollegiate Conference on Inter-American Affairs in Washington. It is planned to reward the delegates who participate in the national conference with a specially conducted tour of the Hispanic-American republics in the summer of this year.

### INTER-AMERICAN TRADE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

The Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs has announced the establishment of the Inter-American Trade Scholarship program under which qualified young men from the other American republics will be brought to the United States for vocational training. Trainees will be assigned to representative concerns in this country engaged in technical, engineering, scientific, economic, commercial, industrial, or agricultural pursuits. They must be citizens of an American republic, at least eighteen and not over twenty-eight years of age, should have a technical background or special aptitude in the fields they intend to study, and should have a working knowledge of the English language. The scholarships will be for periods varying from one to two years. The administration of the program will be in the hands of an Executive Administrator and a Director. Trainee selection committees will be named in the various countries.

## NATIONAL INDIAN INSTITUTE

In compliance with provisions of the Convention for the creation of an Inter-American Indian Institute, ratified June 6, 1941, a National Indian Institute was established in the Department of the Interior on November 1, 1941, by Executive Order No. 8930. The Director and the necessary personnel for the Institute are to be under the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The new organization is to promote collaboration of learned societies, scholars, and governmental agencies in the fields of Indian studies and administration. It is to coördinate and develop research projects; act as a liaison organization between the United States and other governments; direct, prepare, and publish materials; assemble library studies and bibliographies; plan inter-American conferences and prepare an annual report to the Inter-American Institute. The policy board will comprise the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, two private persons, of which one is to be an Indian, one representative each from the Department of State, the Department of Agriculture, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Library of Congress, and representatives may also be appointed by the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, and the American Council of Learned Societies.

## ATLAS OF THE AMERICAS

According to an announcement by the American Geographical Society, it proposes to produce an "Atlas of the Americas" which will illustrate social and economic conditions and trends in the Western Hemisphere. This project was endorsed by a resolution of the Congress of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History at Lima in April, 1941, and further endorsed by vote of the Committee on Latin American Studies on October 19, 1941.

For twenty-two years the Society has been at work upon the "Millionth Map" (scale of 1:1,000,000) of Hispanic America, now nearing completion. A total of 103 out of a proposed 107 sheets have been published. Some years ago, the Society began the reduction of the Millionth Map to the scale of 1:5,000,000. At the request of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs, this project is now being completed in the form of a map in three sheets to be published early in 1942.

The proposed "Atlas of the Americas" will be a presentation of essential facts bearing on social and economic conditions within the



several American countries and on interregional and international relations. Maps of the entire hemisphere will be included. As soon as circumstances permit, the Society intends to send a representative with an assistant on a six months' journey through Latin America for the purpose of gathering published and unpublished material to be used in compiling the atlas and of establishing further contacts with Latin-American individuals and institutions which will be of value to the promotion of the project. Suggestions from scholars are solicited.

#### DOCUMENTS ON FLORIDA AND THE WEST INDIES IN THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

The Huntington Library in the fifth of its check-list series to acquaint scholars with its source of material for research has made available some eighty-six Spanish documents relating to Florida and the West Indies. This publication serves to emphasize the extensive amount of material on Spanish Florida found in a wide range of institutions. A report on the progress of the Union Catalogue of Floridiana which is being developed by Dr. A. J. Hanna will be made in a future number of the REVIEW.

#### DOMINICAN CUSTOMS RECEIVERSHIP PAPERS

Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, Director of the Archivo de la Nación of the Dominican Republic, has just announced the accession of part of the Dominican Receivership Papers. The collection extends from 1907 to 1935. More recent documents will be transferred in the near future. Materials from 1905 to 1907 are in the custody of The National Archives in Washington, D. C.

#### HISPANIC FOUNDATION MURALS

Candido Portinari, eminent Brazilian artist, is painting a four-panel mural in the Hispanic Foundation section of the Library of Congress. The Brazilian Government is meeting part of the cost. Details were arranged through the Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Coöperation, of which Henry Allen Moe is chairman. The mural, to cover seven hundred and fifty square feet of wall space, is titled "The Work of the Spanish and Portuguese in the New World."



## NEW REVIEWS AND LISTS OF PERIODICALS

In recent months the Institute of Historical Investigations of the Catholic University of Peru has begun the publication of certain *Cuadernos de estudio* in which there have appeared important articles, notes, and documents on the remote history of Peru by such men as Raúl Porras Barrenechea and Jorge Zeballos Quiñones. Likewise in Peru the Peruvian Society of International Law has begun publication of a *Revista peruana de derecho internacional* (Vol. I, No. 1, July-August-September, 1941). From Rosario, Argentina, there comes *Paraná* (Vol. I, No. 1, 1941), a literary and artistic publication edited by R-E. Montes i Bradley. A review with something of the appearance of a weekly in the United States is the *Revista del Caribe* (Vol. I, No. 1, August, 1941) of Caracas, a publication with emphasis upon literature, art, and contemporary problems, edited by Vicente Gerbasi. The National Museum of El Salvador is now publishing an official organ called *Tzunpame* (Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1941), edited by Tomás Fidias Jiménez. It contains an historical section and has begun the publication of valuable documents on the revolutionary period after 1810. In keeping with the emphasis which historians of Latin America have recently been putting on art and music, Gerónimo Baqueiro Foster is now editing the *Revista Musical Mexicana* (Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1942), which contains sections on history and folklore as well as on the more conventional criticism and technique.

Attention is called to the general guide to current (since 1935) periodicals received in the Library of Congress, prepared by the Hispanic Foundation. Although periodicals have long been recognized as among the best sources for the study of recent Latin-American life, they have been difficult to follow because of their irregularity of appearance and sometimes generally hectic life. This standard index, of which the preliminary edition has appeared, contains "full bibliographical information on 915 different magazines, bulletins, reviews, memoirs, and annuals of a general, cultural, legal, scientific, and official nature. . . . The guide has been prepared by Mr. Murray M. Wise, formerly of the Hispanic Foundation. He was assisted in its compilation by Miss Virginia Brewer and Miss Anyda Marchant, of the Law Library, and Mr. Joseph V. Butt, assistant chief of the Smithsonian Division. The final version now is being prepared by Dr. Alexander Marchant, of the Hispanic Foundation."

The Division of Intellectual Coöperation of the Pan American Union last year issued *Latin-American Journals Dealing with the Social Sciences and Auxiliary Disciplines*. Its 192 items are arranged

by country and a subject index is provided. Like the publication of the Hispanic Foundation, it is mimeographed.

#### THE INTER-AMERICAN MONTHLY

*The Inter-American Monthly*, which made its initial appearance in April under the editorship of John I. B. McCulloch, absorbed both *The Inter-American Quarterly*, which completed its third year, and *Pan American News*, which ended its second. A survey of political developments of the month is a special feature of the new magazine. This particular section is edited in collaboration with the Foreign Policy Association, under whose auspices *Pan American News* was published. There is also a section on trade and finance, a full length biographical sketch, a picture story-of-the-month, a department of book reviews, a special section on art, accompanied by numerous reproductions, and a section on music. The subscription is \$3.00 per year. Address: 1200 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

#### REVISTA OF THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY AND LETTERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO

Among the Mexican publications of special interest to the historical scholar is the *Revista* of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Mexico. The fall number of the *Revista* contained such articles as: "Los macehuales," by Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas, and "Las ideas de Ortega y Gasset sobre la Edad Media," by J. A. de Solalinde, as well as notes on Bernardo de Balbuena, Fernán González de Eslava, and Fray Toribio de Benevente.

#### INTER-AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Word of the establishment of two periodicals has just been received from the Inter-American Institute in Mexico City. They are *América indígena*, a quarterly, and *Boletín indigenista*, a bi-monthly publication. Subscriptions (\$2.00) should be directed to the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, whose address is Orozco y Berra 1-304, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. Specialists in all types of Indian studies are asked to collaborate in the fall issue of the quarterly.

#### PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Professor I. J. Cox, who recently retired from his active teaching career at Northwestern University, conducted a tour along the Pacific Coast of South America from November 1941 to February 1942. The American students on this tour visited the several countries and attended the summer school of the University of Chile.